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THE CONTEMPORARY CULTURE OF THE CÁHITA INDIANS

By

RALPH L. BEALS

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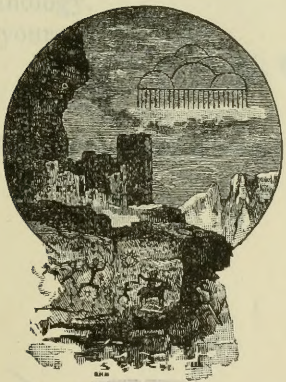

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Smithsonian Institution,
Bureau of American Ethnology,
Washington, D. C., May 1, 1943.

Sir: I have the honor to transmit herewith a manuscript entitled "The Contemporary Culture of the Cáhita Indians," by Ralph L. Beals, and to recommend that it be published as a bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Very respectfully yours,

M. W. Stirling, *Chief.*

Dr. C. G. Abbot,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

Smithsonian Institution
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 142

THE CONTEMPORARY CULTURE OF THE CÁHITA INDIANS

BY

RALPH L. BEALS

ERRATA

Page x.	For footnote [1a], read: [1]Redfield's other studies in Mexico have not been one-man affairs, and in some instances deal with comparable numbers.
Page xi.	In footnote [1a], for Navahoa, read Navohoa.
Page 243.	Right-hand column, 10th line from bottom, for Yaqqi, read Yaqui.

CONTENTS

PAGE

Preface ---- IX
Introduction ---- 1
The basis of life ---- 5
  Agriculture ---- 5
  Tame and domestic animals ---- 10
  Gathering food supplies ---- 10
  Hunting ---- 11
  Fishing ---- 14
  Food preparation and storage ---- 15
Houses ---- 16
  Types and construction ---- 16
  Utilization and furnishing ---- 20
Manufactures ---- 22
  Tools and weapons ---- 22
  Loom weaving ---- 23
  Basketry and other weaving ---- 36
  Dress and ornament ---- 37
  Pottery ---- 39
  Skin dressing ---- 41
  Musical instruments ---- 41
Transportation and travel ---- 43
Games ---- 44
Tobacco and smoking ---- 44
Occupations ---- 45
Star lore; eclipses ---- 47
External relations and geographical knowledge ---- 47
Historical knowledge ---- 49
Trade and wealth ---- 49
Warfare ---- 50
Social aspects of life ---- 55
  Birth observances ---- 55
  Care and rearing of children ---- 57
    Infancy ---- 57
    Education and pastimes ---- 58
    Naming and adolescent rites ---- 59
  Kinship terms ---- 60
  Marriage ---- 61
  Death beliefs and customs ---- 66
  Behaviors, attitudes, and mannerisms ---- 82
Political organization ---- 83
Religion ---- 90
  Ideas of the world and the universe ---- 90
  Mayo religious organization ---- 91
    Matachini ---- 94
    Fariseos ---- 98
    Fiesteros ---- 103

Religion—Continued.

PAGE
- Yaqui religious organization 107
  - The church officers 107
  - Matachini 111
  - Fariseos 112
  - Fiesteros 115
  - The integration of Yaqui organization 117
- Mayo fiesta dancers and musicians 119
- Yaqui fiesta dancers and musicians 126
  - Coyote dance 131
- Mayo fiestas 132
  - San Juan fiestas 134
  - The fiestas of Christ and the Virgin 144
  - Recent changes in fiestas 161
  - *Velación* of San José 162
- Yaqui fiestas 165
  - Fiestas of Christ and the Virgin 168
  - San Juan fiesta 185
- Vows, miscellaneous beliefs 188
- Circuits, directions, ritual numbers, and other ritual 189
- The "religion of the woods" 190
  - Disease and curing 191
  - Witches and wizards 196
  - Dreams 198
  - The horned water serpent and other beliefs 199
- Development of modern religion and ceremonials 202

Rhythms of activity and the adjustment to white culture 207
- Mayo pacifism; Yaqui nationalism 211

Tales and stories 215
- The first people 216
- The making of the world 216
- The first conquest 218
- The giant harvest 218
- Coyote and the Bull 219
- The Iguana and the Coyote 219
- The story of Turtle and Coyote 219
- Coyote and the Bees 220
- The Snake and the Viper 221
- The marriage of Indian and White 221
- Yomomúli 223
- Turtle speaks Yaqui 224
- Saint Peter and the Giant 224

Bibliography 225

Glossary 227

Explanation of plates 230

Index 233

ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES

(All plates at end of book)

1. 1, Lower Yaqui River. 2, A Mayo field.
2. 1, An *echos* cactus fence. 2, Corner of adobe house.
3. 1, House and kitchen. 2, Mayo house and ramada.
4. Mayo ramadas.
5. 1, A Mayo kitchen. 2, Thatch-roofed house.
6. 1, A Mayo house cross. 2, Mayo father and children. 3, Mayo bake oven.
7. 1, Mayo wooden implements. 2, Mayo musical instruments and dance wand.
8. 1, Spinning *maguey* fiber. 2, Mayo clown.
9. 1, Mayo woman weaving. 2, Mayo woman using the bow to prepare wool for spinning.
10. 1, Mayo harp. 2, Mayo violin.
11. 1, Man playing harp. 2, Mayo clowns.
12. 1, Ocoroni stick dice. 2, Ocoroni dance crown. 3, Ocoroni rattles.
13. Mayo masks and headdresses.
14. 1, Graveyard at Cohuirimpo. 2, Graves at Cohuirimpo.
15. Ceremonial regalia.
16. 1, Mayo Pascola dancers. 2, Yaqui Pascola dancers.
17. 1, Mayo deer dancer. 2, Yaqui deer dancer.
18. 1, Fiesta ramada. 2, Mayo fiesta.
19. 1, Banners and cross. 2, Pottery bull.
20. 1, Mayo church. 2, Mayo fiesta scene.

TEXT FIGURES

PAGE
1. Various wooden implements 8
2. Carrying basket 11
3. Wattle technique for house walls 17
4. Vertical thatch for house walls 17
5. Vertical wattle technique 17
6. Methods of joining roof beams 18
7. Wooden hook 20
8. Gourd water bottles 21
9. Mayo broadloom fabrics 24
10. Mayo broadloom fabrics 25
11. Mayo looms 29
12. Details of weaving techniques 30
13. Man's sash 32
14. Wide woven belt 33
15. Minor textile products 34
16. Mayo pottery types 40
17. Map of Yaqui territory 48
18. Arrangement of Yaqui village meeting 87
19. Mayo matachin wand 95
20. Matachin dance figures 96
21. Mayo clown sword and spear 101
22. Yaqui community organization 118
23. Arrangement of household fiesta 131

PAGE
24. Plan of church and plazas 135
25. Plan of a *velación* 150
26. Pueblo Viejo church, Easter Saturday 159
27. Pitahaya church, Easter Week 170
28. Vicam Viejo church, Easter Week 174
29. Vicam Viejo church, Easter Saturday 177
30. Dance of Pilates and fariseos 178
31. Entrance of Pilates and fariseos 179
32. Dance ramada and *cuartel*, Vicam Viejo 181
33. Procession on Easter Sunday 183

MAPS

1. Territory of the Cáhita, showing principal modern settlements 2

PREFACE

The first part of this study (Beals, 1943) was an attempt to reconstruct the aboriginal culture of the Cáhita Indians. This second part is a general description of the contemporary culture of the Yaqui and Mayo Indians, the sole surviving groups of Cáhita. In the few cases where informants or documents indicated different customs for the period between mission days and the present, the data are included. Where it has been possible to do so, and the matter has seemed important, the development of contemporary institutions has been suggested.

The basic interest, both in field work and in presentation, has been ethnographic. Consequently, there is a minimum of the "social anthropology" which Robert Redfield has so successfully developed in Mexico. Much that is significant for study of the interaction between the Indian and Mexican cultures of the area will, nevertheless, be found in these pages. Indeed, social problems are so obvious, so omnipresent, and at the same time so interesting that it is impossible to ignore them completely, however concentrated one's purpose may be on ethnology. Although in the United States similar problems may exist, they are those of a dying culture which has only minor relations with the dominant civilization. In Mexico one is dealing, not with two cultures of which one is dying, but with two cultures which are each functioning entities. The white and Indian cultures of Mexico have profoundly influenced one another in many regions, but they have not yet merged. Nor is it certain that the European culture is to be wholly dominant in the final synthesis. In content, of course, much of the final culture of Mexico will be Euro-American. But its patterns, its habits of thought, and its organization will probably be profoundly influenced by the Indian cultures. For this reason, the social aspects of Mexican Indian cultures are impossible to ignore entirely.

Because of the dominantly ethnological interest which motivated the field studies, less effort was made to probe current attitudes of the community than some might think desirable. The task of picturing the Cáhita is much greater than Redfield encountered at Tepoztlan, for the isolation is less, the numbers nearly 20 times as great, the local differentiations greater, and the populations more mobile (Redfield, 1930.)[1] In the Tepoztlan study Redfield was interested in the aboriginal culture elements only in so far as they were integrated into the composite whole of modern Tepoztlan culture; this study is primarily concerned with the greatest possible segregation of these elements, and less with elements of Spanish origin which lack an aboriginal coloring. The "social anthropology" of this paper is a by-product of the study, just as the ethnology of Redfield's work is a by-product of his study, and the final part of it represents a summary of the social observations made, fairly systematically, but incidentally to the ethnologic study. Were the field work to be done today, my approach and interests would give more emphasis to social problems.

The ethnologic problems proved quite complex. Not only have the Cáhita been in contact with whites so long that virtually all memories of aboriginal days have vanished, but they apparently maintained themselves with a fairly stable hybrid culture up to recent times when this hybrid itself started a period of rapid modification. It is necessary, therefore, to view Cáhita culture in three layers: the contemporary culture, the culture of post-mission, premodern times, and the aboriginal culture. The aboriginal layer has been dealt with already. For the later periods one must depend entirely on the evidence of the contemporary population, for virtually nothing of a descriptive nature has been written on the Cáhita except by the early missionaries.

In securing contemporary data some difficulty resulted from the fact that the Cáhita in general and the Mayo in particular are not inclined to be communicative. They have for whites a profound distrust which is difficult to overcome, and perhaps a greater naiveté of outlook than most of the Indians of the United States. They also lack appreciation of the differences between their own culture and that of the Mexicans. Questions are frequently met with the response that of course they do just as the yóris (whites) do, entirely overlooking significant differences in detail. On some of the more interesting aspects of culture dealing with religion, and particularly with witchcraft and curing methods, it is difficult to secure information, partly because witches are still murdered among the Mayo and executed among the Yaqui, and partly because of the scornful attitude of the Mexicans.

The basic field work was done in the winter of 1930–31 and the early part of 1932. About 5 months were spent in the Mayo country during the first visit and a few days at Potan among the Yaqui. Practically all of the Mayo towns and villages in the neighborhood of the Mayo River were visited, but most of the material was col-

---

[1a] An important Mayo settlement occupies the old site of Navohoa and is often referred deal with comparable numbers.

lected within 20 miles of Navojoa [1a] and, unless otherwise attributed, is from the district of Navojoa. A museum collection was made on this trip. In 1932, 3 weeks were spent in making a reconnaissance of the territory between the Mayo and Sinaloa Rivers. An unsuccessful effort was made to discover any remnants of the more southerly Cáhita tribes which might still exist. Some 3 weeks were again spent in Navojoa with the Mayo, a like period with the Yaqui of Pascua Village, Tucson, Ariz., and a month in the Yaqui villages of Vicam and Vicam Station (inhabited by villagers from Cocorit), with visits to other villages. The late Dr. Elsie Clews Parsons accompanied me for about 4 weeks in Mayo and Yaqui territory in 1932. She kindly made her notes available to me. A further trip to the Yaqui River and to Pascua Village was made in the winter of 1937. It should be borne in mind that the use of the present tense refers in the main to the period from 1930 to 1932.

It is not feasible to give a complete list of the informants, as their numbers are considerable, and frequently it was undesirable to attempt to ascertain names. Often a casual encounter at a fiesta or in some distant rancho would produce extremely profitable leads and information when it could hardly be said that I worked with the individual as an informant. It rarely proved feasible to use the same informant long, particularly with the Mayo. Exceptions were María Ontivera, of Tetanchopo, and Ignacio Jusacamea, of Chibuku, and the latter's wife and son. Much of the information was secured by observation, and checked where necessary by asking questions of house owners or of bystanders at fiestas and other social events. The Mayo especially were quite willing to give casual information though they would refuse to work consistently, becoming distrustful and restless. More than 100 Mayo houses were visited and entered for stays of varying length, and houses and neighborhoods where friendly relations could be established were revisited frequently. For the Yaqui, the principal systematic informants were Guadalupe Flores and Lucas Chávez, of Pascua Village, Tucson; Jorge (my best informant, who concealed his surname) and Andrés Valenzuela, of Bacun; Marcelino Palofox, of Vicam; and Sunovio, of Raun (?); the latter four all resident in Vicam Station.

The Yaqui study is incomplete, although the main outlines are clear. But a detailed study of Torin, Vicam, or perhaps Potan is needed if the contemporary culture is to be thoroughly understood. The valuable study of Pascua Village made by Edward Spicer (1940) is hardly representative of conditions in Mexico. It is expected that current studies by Spicer will supply additional material. Studies could profitably be made of the down-river Mayo of Echojoa, Huperi, and Santa Cruz, as well as of two or three villages on the Fuerte River such as Mochicahui, Charay, Tehueco, and perhaps one of the more Mexicanized hill villages such as Capomas. Until such detailed investigations are made, Cáhita ethnography must remain incomplete. The differences between Yaqui and Mayo, while to some extent due to unequal preservation of the cultures, are sufficient to make it necessary to differentiate between them throughout the paper. Where material is not specifically assigned, it applies so far as I know to both Yaqui and Mayo.

[1a] An important Mayo settlement occupies the old site of Navahoa and is often referred to as Pueblo Viejo.

Throughout the paper Cáhita terms are not italicized. Spanish terms are italicized unless the word is used in English speech or has been incorporated into Cáhita with some modification in form. The phonetics of Cáhita appear simple and are frequently written in Spanish orthography. Some Yaqui write the language with fair facility on the typewriter. It might have been better to maintain this system, particularly as so many words, especially place names, appear in local Spanish speech and literature. Nevertheless, I have made some adaptations in orthography within the limits of the ordinary printer's type font. The system is as follows:

All consonants have approximately the same values as English except that *l* and *r* often are difficult to distinguish.

An exception is *c*, which is equivalent to English initial *ch*.

Vowels are given Spanish values.

Doubled vowels, or vowels not separated by consonants are separated in pronunciation. An exception is *ai*, which is pronounced as the open *i* of English *bite*.

A raised period (˙) denotes lengthening of vowels.

A raised comma (') denotes a glottal stop.

Place names in local Spanish usage are given in the Spanish orthography. The chief differences are: *ch=c*, *j=h*, *gua=wa*, and *guay=wai*.

Both the field work and the writing of the paper as well as most of the historical and comparative work were done as a Fellow in the Biological Sciences of the National Research Council of Washington, D. C. Field expenses were paid by the University of California. The work was under the direction of Prof. A. L. Kroeber, of the latter institution. The acknowledgments made in the preface to the first part of this study (Beals, 1943) apply with even more force to the present paper.

Dr. Edward Spicer very kindly read an early draft of the manuscript, and made many suggestions and criticisms. A few of these are acknowledged in footnotes, but the many others are acknowledged here. I have attempted no comparison with Dr. Spicer's excellent work on Pascua Village at Tucson (Spicer, 1940). As Dr. Spicer is engaged in a community study on the Yaqui River, it seems best to let all comparisons await completion of his work.

THE CONTEMPORARY CULTURE OF THE CÁHITA INDIANS

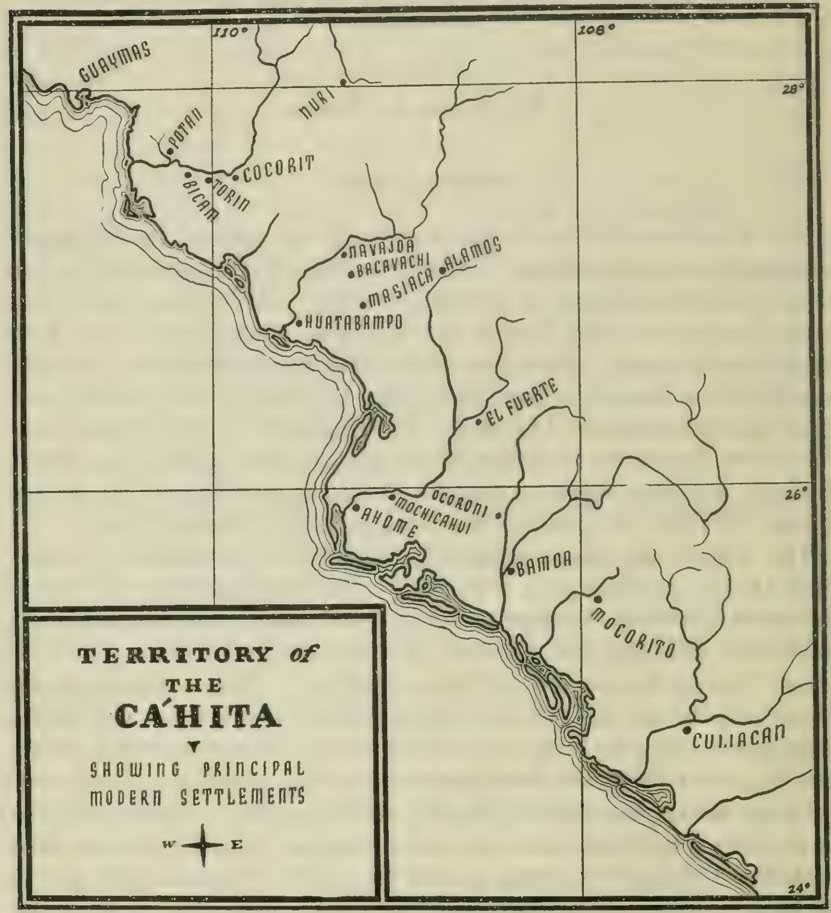
By Ralph L. Beals

INTRODUCTION

The Yaqui and Mayo today are found not only in their original homelands along the lower Yaqui and Mayo Rivers, but all the way from southern Arizona to central Sinaloa. Probably several thousand Yaqui live in the United States, where some of them have lived more than 40 years. Yaqui are frequently encountered also throughout northern Sonora and, indeed, may be found today almost anywhere in the Republic of Mexico. The Mayo are less widely scattered. They have moved up the Mayo River and into the Cedros and Alamos Valleys, but their main expansion is into the valleys of the Fuerte River. Groups live also on the Ocoroni and Culiacan Rivers.

The Yaqui and Mayo originally numbered approximately 30,000 each, the Yaqui perhaps a few more. (See Beals, 1943.) Today, if the widely scattered groups are considered, they are perhaps equally numerous, although the numbers in their original habitats have declined. Later figures are of little reliability. The census figures in Mexico up to the last census were notably incorrect for the Indian population, and the 1930 census leaves the Yaqui towns a blank. Hardy, about 1825, said local estimates of the Yaqui and Mayo were between 40,000 and 60,000 (Hardy, 1829, p. 428). Velasco in 1850 gave 5,501 Yaquis on the river and estimated that 6,000 more were scattered through the State, a total of 11,501 (Velasco, 1850, p. 54). McKenzie in 1889, after the bloody wars of Cajeme, gave 10,000 Yaqui and 15,000 Mayo (McKenzie, 1890, p. 299). Hrdlička a few years later estimated Mayo and Yaqui at 20,000 each (Hrdlička, 1908, pp. 6–7).

At the present time, I estimate there are 1,200 men living on the Yaqui River, including those in the Sierra de Bacatete. In 1932 there were between 700 and 800 men on the army pay rolls receiving the equivalent of a subsidy. As there are believed to be about 3 women to each man, probably 4 children may also be estimated, or a total of 8,400. Estimates of resident Army officials in 1932 were between 7,000 and 9,000. This does not include the Yaqui living away from the river, in Arizona, or in the Mexican Army; they would at least double the figure. The Mayo cannot be estimated so well, but including mixed bloods living as Indians, there must be nearly 20,000 on the Mayo River alone and nearly as many on the Fuerte.


GUAYMAS
110°
108°
28°
NURI
POTAM
COCORIT
BICAM
TORIN
NAVAJOA
BACAVACHI
MASIACA
ALAMOS
HUATABAMPO
EL FUERTE
26°
OCORONI
MOCHICAHUI
AHOME
BAMOA
MOCORITO
CULIACAN
24°
TERRITORY of
THE
CÁHITA
SHOWING PRINCIPAL
MODERN SETTLEMENTS
W
E

MAP 1.

The history of the first white contacts has already been given (Beals, 1943). The founding of many Yaqui and Mayo towns still in existence seems to coincide with the establishment of missions in the early seventeenth century, although data are inadequate. Particularly on the Yaqui River, there is reason to believe some towns have changed location by several miles. Of the Sinaloa River towns in existence or on fairly modern maps, Mocorito, Chicorato, Bacubirito, Bamoa, Nio, Guasave, Tamazula, and Ocoroni bear the same names as Indian towns or tribes. No longer existing are Ures, Cubiri, Lopoche, Deboropa, and Matapan. (See map 1.)

Fuerte River towns dating from mission times or before are Mochicahui, San Miguel Zuaque, Ahome, Tehueco, Choix, Huites, Yecorato, Vaca, Sivirijoa, Charay, San Miguel, and San Lorenzo. Orozco y Berra (1864, p. 332) says the Fuerte was divided in 10 *partidos* (districts), Sinaloas and Hichucios (Huites?) occupying Vaca, Toro, and Huiris; the Tehuecos, Tehueco, Villa de Montesclaros, Sivirijoa, and San José Charay; the Zuaques, Mochicahue and San Miguel Zuaque. Hardy (early nineteenth century) assumed all Indian towns on the Fuerte were Mayo. He gives Toro, Baca, Chois, O'mi (Ahome?), San Miguel, Charac, Sivilihoa, and Tehueco (Hardy, 1829, p. 438).

Between the Fuerte and Mayo Rivers are the Mayo towns of Masiaca and Bacavachi. Concerning the latter, Pérez de Ribas (1645, p. 175) says the Bacabichis settled with Tehuecos. This probably is the origin of the name.

On the Mayo River, Conicari, Tepague, and Macollague are little more than names, although still shown on maps. Camoa, Tesia, Navojoa, Cohuirimpo (moved to San Ignacio), Echojoa, and Santa Cruz (now abandoned or dispersed into rancherias) date from mission times. Pérez de Ribas (1645, p. 239) mentions eight original towns. Perhaps of later origin are San Pedro, Bacobampo, Rodeo, Huatabampo, and Huperi, as well as some of the many small villages or rancherias. Some of these towns are now largely Mexican.

Velasco (1850, p. 62) gives Macollague in the Sierra, Conicari, Tecia, Nabajoa, Cuirimpo, Guitahoa, Echojoa, Santa Cruz, and Masiaca. Hardy (1829, p. 438) gives Tepague, Conecare, Camoa, Tesia, Navajoa, Curinghoa, Echejoa, and Santa Cruz de Mayo. Hernández (1902) reproduces a map of 1757 showing Camoares, Cedros, Guadelupe, Camoa, Tesia, Nabajo, Corimpo, Hehnchajoa, and Santa Cruz. Hrdlička (1904, p. 59) mentions Macoyahui, Conicari, Camoa, Tecia, Navojoa, Cuirimpo or San Ignacio, San Pedro, Echojoa, Huatabambo, and Bacavachi. These data indicate that the existing settlements are at least two centuries old.

The earliest mention of Yaqui towns is by Pérez de Ribas (1645, pp. 310, 312, 331), who states that, from mountains to sea, there were originally 11 pueblos, of which Torin was the sixth and largest. He also mentions Vicam. Alegre (1841, vol. 2, p. 140) says Forin was the uppermost of the Yaqui towns. If he meant Torin, he erred. Velasco (1850, p. 64) gives Cocori, Bacum, Torin, Bicam, Potam, Rahum, Huirivis, and Belen, while Hardy (1829, p. 438) mentions Cocori, Bacum, Torim, Bican, Potan, Raum, Guiraquis, and Belea. The Hernández map of 1757, gives Tecoriona, Comoriopa, Colorin (Cocorit?), Bacum, Torin, Bican, Potan, Raun, and Belan (Hernández, 1902, map).

The Yaqui wars need not be entered into in detail: that is a task for the historian. Nevertheless, a brief summary is perhaps advisable. After the entry of the missionaries, the first serious rebellion was in 1740. This outbreak was joined by the Mayo. It was caused by Jesuit intrigues to prevent the removal of officials who were abusing their power. The two tribes took an important part in the Wars of Independence, but, disappointed in the results, rose in 1825 under Juan Banderas. A brief peace was followed by wars in 1826 and 1832. If Hardy's (1829) estimate is correct, only failure to recognize his strength prevented Banderas from, temporarily at least, expelling the whites from most of Sonora and Sinaloa. After this period, the Yaqui and Mayo took part in various civil wars, particularly in the bloody struggle between Gandara and Urrea, and joined the French in the intervention. In October 1865, the Mayo of the Fuerte rose. In none of these struggles were the Indians unified; often they fought on both sides or, if in an independent revolt, against their own people. In 1875 the Yaqui and Mayo rose under Cajeme and continued to struggle intermittently until the capture of Cajeme in 1887. Although the Mayo have taken part in various revolutionary movements since then, this seems to have been their last serious rising, and in 1936 a Mayo was elected governor of Sonora.

The Yaqui were not so easily pacified. They rose under Cajeme's successor, Tetabiate, with whom peace was signed in 1897, but in 1899 another revolt broke out which was not really ended until the death of Tetabiate in 1901.[2] Since 1901 there seem to be no reliable historical records readily available. After 1902, when Hrdlička (1904, p. 70) records an outbreak, the Yaqui appear to have been comparatively quiet until 1910. The country during this period was occupied by Diaz forces operating under a repressive policy. Ruins of their forts are still to be seen. Since 1910, when the Yaqui joined the Madero revolution, they have joined various movements or have supported the government, often fighting on both sides. Except in recent years, the country has rarely been completely quiet, and between 1910 and 1920 the Yaqui country was twice virtually swept clear of whites, and the region for many miles around is still desolated. The last serious outbreak was in 1929, when the Yaqui joined the last important revolution. The government at that time adopted a lenient policy which may end the Yaqui problem, although there are still many irreconcilables and some have refused to leave the shelter of the hills. The Yaqui are now concentrated mostly on the north bank of the river and have abundant lands. They have received some help in tools and livestock, and as irregular soldiers a number of them are paid a stipend.

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[2] Summarized from Hernández (1902, pp. 112 et seq.)

The Yaqui were rarely completely peaceful between 1740 and 1902. Between these dates guerrilla warfare or open war alternated with brief armed truces. The military situation reflected changes in policy which vacillated between leaving the Yaqui entirely alone and trying to enforce Mexican authority over them (and seize their lands and salt works). The Mayo situation was evidently similar up to the death of Cajeme, although the more peaceable character of the Mayo permitted a slow infiltration of Mexicans. The battle cry throughout has been not so much land as self-government. Informants insisted that self-government and the expulsion of the Mexicans from their towns were the objectives of Yaqui uprisings and participation in revolutionary movements.

THE BASIS OF LIFE

AGRICULTURE

Only to a very slight degree does modern agriculture follow aboriginal patterns. The benches and bars along the rivers are still watered by floods, but the rivers have been restricted somewhat by levees, and most agriculture depends on irrigation, almost certainly an introduced technique (pl. 1, fig. 1). In many canals the entry of the water depends on the height of the river, although weirs of stakes and brush are sometimes made to divert the waters. In clearing land, the Mayo and, much less frequently, the Yaqui usually leave some of the larger trees—mesquite, *guamuchil*, híto, and the pitahayas—standing (pl. 1, fig. 2.) Other large trees are often girdled and left to die. Stumps are imperfectly removed, burning alone being used to destroy them; that is, they are not pulled—perhaps a survival of milpa technique. Land to be irrigated is usually bordered by high banks so the field may be heavily flooded, an approximation of the effects of river flooding. Most crops are not irrigated after planting; garbanzos (chickpeas) are an important exception.

Away from the rivers, as at Bacavachi, flooding depends on diverting a local arroyo. One good rain floods the fields, but a second heavy rain after planting frequently necessitates complete replanting of all village lands.

Fields (wása) are usually fenced, barbed wire now being customary. Thorny brush is piled over the wire to keep out goats; probably before wire was available, brush fencing was general; it is still seen occasionally. At Masiaca (close to Sinaloa), *echos* cactus fences are used. These are extremely common farther south. Sections are cut and set in the ground, where they quickly form an impenetrable barrier (pl. 2, fig. 1).

Mayo land ownership now conforms to Mexican standards. Some fields are owned outright; others are held for use only, failure to cultivate them making them open to appropriation by others. Before the Diaz "reforms," lands were regarded as belonging to villages. At marriage a man was given lands by the kobanáro (village chief). At death, these reverted to the village for reapportionment. Others say land was formerly cleared wherever one wished to plant.

Many crops are planted twice yearly, once in early spring or winter, and again during the summer rains. The best grains or seeds are kept for the next planting, but seed from a spring planting is not used for summer, and vice versa. Some people take the first two or three ears of corn, the first watermelons, or the first squashes to church and present them to the Virgin.

Two particular pests are a small bird, mó·'el (represented in the matachin dance of the same name performed on the day of San José or near Easter), and a small gray, white, and black bird, with a white collar, which attacks ripening wheat and vegetables. A largish yellow-breasted bird, vicórim, attacks garbanzos. Boys stay in the fields to drive it away. Two water birds, sivarói (unidentified; a duck?) and cranes (korúe), attack fields in flocks. They are killed and eaten. Small parrots sometimes do considerable damage.

The principal Mayo crop is maize (báci) of which there are three varieties. Máiyobáci, a large, white, half-sweet corn, is most common. A small-grained corn for pinole and a very small-grained brownish corn are also grown, both bearing several ears to the stalk.[3] Other colored corns are not planted. Occasionally, ears of red, pink, yellow, blue, and purple-streaked grains appear. Kept for remedies, especially for kidney troubles, they are cooked with corn silk in water. Colored ears are placed in the door of the goat pen if the female is sick after dropping its young. There is no special use for perfect ears or double-pointed ears (na'avára, "twins").

Maize is planted in August for harvest in November or December and in January and February for harvest in June. Maize is usually planted in rows. Squashes are generally planted between the rows, but, except in small gardens, beans are usually planted separately. If beans are planted with maize, they are planted in alternate rows. Some maize is eaten green. Mature maize for home consumption is usually stored on the roof of the ramada, frequently unhusked, and is shelled as needed. Maize for sale is shelled by rented machines. Husks are often stored for tamales or cigarette wrappers. Maize stalks are cut and stored in piles or on roofs for fodder. Occasionally stock is allowed to graze the standing stalks.

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[3] Owing to difficulties in importing specimens into the United States at the time, no attempt was made to obtain adequate identification of this or other plants.

Wheat (badúwa, tirígo) is ordinarily planted from November to January. Much is raised by dry farming. Seed is planted at the bottom of deep furrows unless the fields are irrigated, in which case the seed is broadcast.

Garbanzos, or chickpeas (karabánzan), are planted from December to February, usually after a fall corn crop on the same ground. Wheat, maize, and garbanzos are the principal cash crops.

Several varieties of beans (múni) are raised, but most are evidently introduced, as they are termed by the native word "múni" plus a color term, frequently Spanish: Múni *rosa* (pink bean); múni *wisachi* (lead-colored bean; also called torokomúni); múni *azufrado*, a half-yellow bean; yóri múni *ojito* and yóri múni *ojito negro* (cowpeas or black-eyed beans); serâwi (tepary).

Barley and peas have Spanish names.

Squash (ká·man), watermelons (sakobári), and cantaloupes (minórim) are extensively grown. A little chili (kókori) is planted after the full moon nearest April 15, and occasionally tomatoes are grown. Some native tobacco (makúco) is sown. Cotton growing (or weaving) by Indians was unknown to informants, although it was known aboriginally. Fruits are rarely planted.

All these planting methods are used also by the Mexicans. Tools are usually a steel plow, sometimes a spike or disk harrow, rarely a planter, and the *coa*, a sort of weed cutter, also used to hill up corn. The latter has an iron or steel blade, about 2 inches wide and 6 inches long, set at a 45° angle on a wooden handle. Wooden plows were remembered by one informant, and the digging stick (huíka) by another, who said it formerly was used in planting.

Former threshing tools were a heavy club about 4 feet long and 2½ inches in diameter, a crude pronged fork made by sharpening both branches of a forking tree limb, and a wooden shovel (fig. 1, *a–c*). The grain was beaten with the club on a hard floor. Wheat and garbanzo straw was lifted on a fork and the grain shaken out. The grain was winnowed by being thrown in the air with the wooden spade. These methods are little used now, but specimens of the implements were secured at Chihuahuita and their use with maize was observed at Cedros.

Men do all agricultural work.

Ceremonial associations formerly occurred. Current practices were described as follows by one informant:

> After the rains and when the fields are irrigated people commence to sow with pleasure. When the sowing is completed they make some promise so that God will cause the fields to yield abundantly. If the crop is fruitful, they say God has heard them and granted them good crops. Then on Palm Sunday they take their palms to the church in payment for the crops given.

According to another informant, when new land was cleared by burning, prayers were offered in the field to San Isidro. During

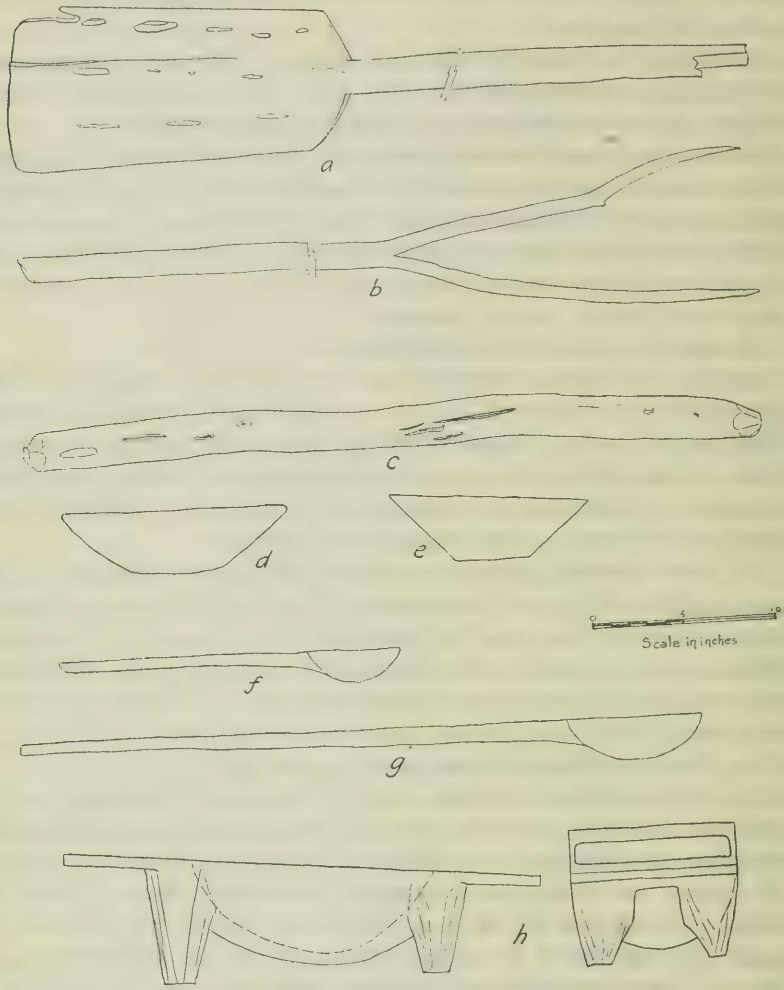

Figure 1.—Wooden implements. *a*, Shovel used in handling grain, length 5 feet. *b*, Fork used for handling fodder or unshelled maize, length 3 feet 8 inches. *c*, Club used for beating maize from cob; this and *a* and *b* are all made of mesquite wood. *d*, Wooden bowl, diameter 12 inches; this and succeeding items made of cottonwood. *e*, Wooden bowl, diameter 10 inches. *f*, Wooden spoon for household use. *g*, Large wooden spoon for ceremonial cooking. *h*, Wooden trough for mixing bread, dimensions 32 by 9¼ by 6½ inches. (Univ. Calif. Mus. Cat. 3, Nos. (*a*) 3318, (*b*) 3317, (*c*) 3316, (*d*) 3246, (*e*) 3232, (*f*) 3301, (*g*) 3241, (*h*) 3234.

sowing, a candle was sometimes burned to San Isidro in the fields at night. Fires were burned at the four corners of the field on May 3 to prevent worms; *cahuetes* were also fired. After harvest, a fiesta was given at the house. Ears of corn were placed about the house altar, candles burned, and *cahuetes* (local pronunciation of *cohetes*) fired. Two sheep were killed for the musicians, and girls danced *jarabes* and the *zapatia*, as well as to "music of pascola." Sometimes there were pascola dancers.

There is a distinctive belief in the influence of the moon on crops. Neither planting nor harvesting is begun until after the full moon "so the plant won't grow too high and not bear well." (This is a genuine local agricultural problem. When plants flourish too well they "go to stalk" and bear lightly.) Fruit trees, especially oranges, if planted 3 days after the new moon will take 3 years to bear; if 5 days after, 5 years. This is probably a European idea.

San Juan is called the owner of seeds, but there is no direct ceremonial expression of this idea, unless his fiesta is really a harvest festival. Wheat, maize, garbanzos, beans, peas, watermelons, melons, mesquite, híto, *guamuchil*, *echos*, and pitahaya belong to him.

Among the Yaqui a man plants where he wishes, merely advising the kobaná'u of his intention to sow a particular spot. (This undoubtedly has changed in the last decade.) Three kinds of maize are sown: a white maize, báci bwé'u (large maize), báci ilíci (maize small), and báci séwa (maize flower, or pinole maize). Formerly a large yellow maize was also planted. Maíyobáci is unknown. The double ear (gogó·nim) has no significance or use. Red ears occur occasionally and are kept for remedies.

Several varieties of beans (múni) are planted: yóri múni (white man's beans, the cowpea or black-eyed bean),[4] siki múni (red bean), tásaimúni (white (?) bean), the tepary, and a spotted bean called *garapatos* (no Yaqui name).

Two varieties of squash are kutakáma, a round, flattish thick-skinned variety, and kiakáma, a variety with a throat.

Makúco and papánto or yoemvívam are two varieties of tobacco grown. Gourds for resonators or rattles (búle au'kósim) yield poorly on the Yaqui River and are mostly imported from the Mayo. Wheat and garbanzos are the two most important Spanish introductions, as among the Mayo.

Planting and harvesting begin in the waning phase of the moon. For watermelons only, after the seed is planted, a cross is scratched in the earth over each hill. Answering a direct question, one informant said "they say" that the ancients took San Isidro to the fields. There are no prayers, censing, or other ceremonials at present.

The Yaqui also say San Juan is the owner of the seeds and that he harvests them at his fiesta, June 24, when the harvest is in full swing; "San Juan síme tácupatéa sakóbarim cúpa," San Juan is harvesting watermelons. Pitahaya, *echo*, tuna, maize, mesquite beans, and *garambuyo* seeds were specifically mentioned as belonging to San Juan.

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[4] The Yuma name is also yóri múni. Evidently they borrowed the black-eyed bean directly from the Yaqui rather than from the Spanish (Forde, 1931, p. 109).

First fruits are frequently taken to church. Mention is made of taking a wagonload of watermelons at a time to church.

Yaqui planting and harvesting methods are similar to those of the Mayo, although modern methods are more often used.[5]

TAME AND DOMESTIC ANIMALS

The domestic animals of the Cáhita are dogs, cats, burros, horses, mules, cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, fowl, and turkeys. There is little difference between the Mexican and Indian patterns in handling or using animals, and in saddles, harness, dairy methods, and the like. The only native names for animals are dog (cú'u) and pig (kówi). The latter may be a corruption of Spanish *coche*, but is more likely a transference of the native term for the peccary, húya kówi (woods pig). Neither pork nor lard is used by most Cáhita, who say pigs were once people. Pigs are sold to the Mexicans. Turkeys (wekolote, kó·buri) are little raised, but fowls (tótori) and house cats (mísi) are common. A small boa (kurú·esi, *corua*) 6 to 8 feet long, formerly was often kept about houses to catch rats and mice. A story that a boa once ate a small infant is told to account for the abandonment of the practice. The small local variety of parrot (*papagayo*) is kept as a pet by both Cáhita and Mexicans. Mockingbirds are kept in cages.

Domestic animals are sometimes treated by *curanderos* and there are some special, evidently magical, remedies which will be discussed in the proper place. Animals are castrated only after the full moon, "because then they will not bleed so much." This evidently is part of the same belief involved in planting by the moon.

GATHERING FOOD SUPPLIES

Wild food supplies are little gathered, although the Yaqui are forced at times to rely on them during their wars. Mesquite is only resorted to in an emergency; it is ground on a metate and made into pinole. It is generally considered an inferior food. The only wild foods still gathered eagerly are pitahayas and tunas, both cactus fruits, and the *maguey*.

The pitahaya and tuna ripen in August. The pitahaya fruit is gathered with a long cane spear with a point of heartwood of mesquite or ironwood, to which is usually tied a crosspiece to act either as a hook or to prevent the spear point from entering the fruit too far (pl. 7, fig. 1). Fruit is placed in a special container (wakal) suspended from the shoulder. The wakal is a cylindrical receptacle of cane splints twined together with mesquite bark. The bottom is woven of mesquite-bark strips. Bailing wire is superseding bark. A strap passes over the shoulder (fig. 2).

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[5] Useful additional details and pictures are given by R. A. Studhalter (1936, pp. 114 et seq.).

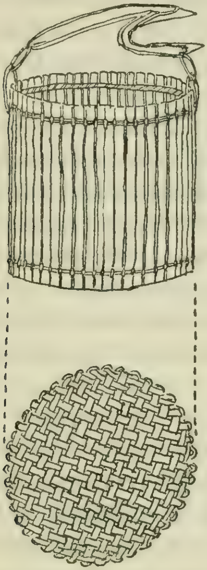

FIGURE 2.—Carrying basket, or wakal, used in gathering pitahaya fruit. Made of split canes twined with mesquite-bark strips. The bottom is made of mesquite-bark strips interwoven; the carrying strap is of canvas. Diameter, 10 inches; height, 10½ inches. (Univ. Calif. Mus. Cat. 3, No. 3245.)

The Yaqui use the *echos* fruit also, scooping out the interior and placing it in a receptacle as it is gathered.

Some fruits and seeds still gathered are:

áki póttan, ripe pitahayas (áki, pitahaya fruit).
sayámme, *salas* (root); possibly same as sawa, a root resembling a sweet-potato. It is a mainstay in war times among the Yaqui.
híto, a tree; the nut is used.
bakúem, greens of wild land plants.
wé'e, greens of water plants.

HUNTING

At the present time relatively little hunting is done by the Mayo. Bows and arrows are used to kill rabbits, birds, and other small game, and in outlying districts men may still be seen carrying them to and from work in the fields. Small boys also have bows and arrows, and do a good deal of hunting for small game. Deer hunting with bow and arrows is very rare. Most large game hunting is done with rifles, and as the Government has confiscated most of these, hunting has declined. Some trapping for skins is done with modern steel traps. Possibly aboriginal is a rope snare set in runways for deer and peccary. Bees are followed and their nests raided, the honey often being sold in the local markets.

Gophers are trapped in an ingenious manner (Beals, 1943, fig. 1), but primarily to protect the fields, not to secure food.

The bones of deer and other wild animals must not be given to dogs or cats or the hunter will lose his luck. Bones, including deer antlers, are burned, and the ashes are sometimes used to coat the *comal* on which tortillas are cooked. If the hunter throws bones or meat to dogs or cats, the deer will know it. Even if he goes hunting far away, he will have no success, nor will anyone who accompanies him. The same is true if he wastes or throws away meat. There is no similar restriction with domestic animals that "are able to look at people."

The bezoar, or stone from deer intestines, is very lucky for a hunter. One must "know how to carry it," for it is very dangerous, particularly in summer. The stone is said to contain a tiny snake, the head and tail of which are sometimes visible. Its vibrations make "electricity," giving strength and power to the owner so that he can break strong sticks and iron bars with his hands. At the same time, in summer it attracts lightning.

Deer hunting formerly had a strong magical background. All animals of the woods have leaders (also called owners, devils). The head chief of the deer, kambúha, keeps deer from being caught if the bones have been thrown to dogs. His permission is necessary to kill deer. Kambúha sometimes appears as a deer with a black muzzle or face. One cannot kill him even with a rifle. When one starts hunting, he says to kambúha, "Give me permission to kill such and such an animal so that I may have meat to eat," or he may say, "wári inácai huyápa ayútuit amánet autonáki másim híttoyembéme," freely translated as "Let us go to my father, chief of the woods, to bring back deer. Let us ask there."

A hunting fiesta was formerly a prime necessity for a deer hunt of any size, even for parties of three or four. If three or four persons set snares for deer, they had a fiesta, sometimes before, sometimes after, or both. Men giving the fiesta performed deer and coyote dances and sang. If they killed five or six deer, they sang and danced all night. If an individual sets a trap in the woods, he burns candles all night.

If the deer chief had a special liking for a person, he sent a small deer (black, white, and gray with *pinto* markings, small hoofs—quite different from the big burro deer of the coast). This deer talked to the man, who took the deer as his "wife," and did not take a "Christian wife." Such a man could command animals; he frequently slept alone in the woods instead of returning to the village at night. Others, wishing to kill deer easily, sought his permission; if given it, they encountered deer immediately.

The hunter must not allow his thoughts to wander. If, while in the woods, he thinks of home, his friends, or some woman, a jaguar (yó·ko) will appear and eat him. If he "doesn't think" (i. e., if he concentrates on the hunt) no misfortune will befall him.

The coyote (gó'i) is not hunted but is killed if it does damage around the house. The coyote is a "devil." It always appears or howls about houses where a person is dying. So do the fox (aíyi) and owl.

Iguanas (wikúrim) are very healthful food, preventing sickness. A snake or lizard (saka'áwi) and a large wood rat (tóri) are eaten. Kurúes (*cruz?*), a large black snake with a cross on its head, is not eaten.[6]

Unlike the Mayo, the Yaqui still hunt considerably. Deer are the favorite game, the rifle the usual weapon, as the Yaqui are permitted arms. Like the Mayo, supernatural sanctions play a large part in becoming a successful hunter.

As among the Mayo, charms are of value, particularly the deer bezoar. A man carrying one will always kill deer. The bezoar loses all its virtue if washed or cleaned in any way after removal from the deer intestine. The stone may not be carried during the rainy season or the carrier will be struck by lightning. An informant knew of one case.

Most valuable is to "talk to the deer." One who wishes to be a good deer hunter goes into the woods until he meets a small deer which appears to have a "honeycomb of the woods" (wasp nest?) between its horns. This deer (ma·líci) says, "What are you seeking here?" The hunter replies, "I am seeking deer to hunt." Ma·líci tries to drive the hunter away. If it fails, ma·líci says, "I am going to kill you." To this the hunter replies, "Until all my fingers are the same length, you can't kill me." Ma·líci apparently has no adequate response, and releases the hunter, who thereafter finds deer whenever he hunts.

Ma·líci is "governor" of the deer and hunters. Informants could not reconcile him or his position with equally positive statements that suawaka (see p. 99) is head of the animals. Some identified ma·líci with a small deer which, if shot and not killed, can throw worms into the hunter so that he will die. Others gave the latter animal the name of so'ltéla. The chief of all animals is the horned toad.

Within the memory of living men hunting was more ritualized and elaborate. Parties were led by men who knew the "secrets" of the deer and, from descriptions, may have had shamanistic power. The performance of deer dances and ceremonial gatherings of hunters with songs and prayers to the deer "chief" have such a strongly aboriginal flavor that they have been described at length (Beals, 1943, pp. 13–18) as part of the ancient culture.

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[6] Spicer suggests kurwes (rainbow) as an association with this snake.

Mountain sheep (yóci bátum) are very rare now, but they were never hunted because they might be magical, especially black-and-white ones. Persons killing magical mountain sheep never returned home and could not talk to people. Instead they lived in the woods and ran away whenever they saw a human being.

Blowing on food to cool it causes bad luck in the deer hunt. All informants still observed this rule. The tail of the deer is hung on a tree or ramada facing the rising sun.[7] Deer meat or bones must never be fed to dogs. Bones are burned. One with all his fingers the same length cannot kill deer. "But," said informants, "who has all his fingers the same length?"

Formerly, a young man tied an iguana or wood rat to his belt. If he met a young woman in the woods, he brought her home and married her "because he had gone to the woods to bring back something."

The Mayo formerly hunted deer, peccary, ocelots, wildcats, jaguars, mountain lions, and badgers in large parties of 20 or 30 men armed with bows, arrows, spears, and machetes. The hunters, when ready, assembled at the house of the chief and asked his permission to leave. The chief named messengers to notify nearby villages. Thus no one molested the hunters in the woods or on the roads. The chief set a day for return. If the party did not return by the day set, a search party was sent out. If the delay was caused by disobedience, the entire party was punished by the chief and the judge. The hunters deposited all the meat in their knapsacks (mocilas) in the house of the chief, who divided it among the entire village.

Men of unusual eyesight among the Yaqui followed bees from watering places. The bee probably was a native species, as the "hive" is described as a round structure a yard in diameter hung from the tree branch.

Birds, such as the mockingbird, cardinal (wicaláko), doves (me·etā́i'i), parakeets, and others, are caught young and kept as pets or sold to Mexicans. They are fed on toasted chickpeas and fruits.

FISHING

Fish are taken in the rivers and the ocean, at certain seasons. Ocean fishing is mostly commercialized, fish going to canneries or markets in Mexican towns. The Yaqui particularly are fond of the excellent oysters abundant about the river mouth. Fishhooks, lines, harpoons, weirs, and casting and dipping nets are used. Except for a few seacoast dwellers, fish are not now an important Cáhita food source. For Yaqui ritual beliefs and practices within a generation, as well as for further details on hunting and fishing, see corresponding sections in the study of the aboriginal culture of the Cáhita (Beals, 1943).

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[7] Toor (1937, p. 55) says it is called flower (sewa) and brings success. It may also have curative and magical powers.

FOOD PREPARATION AND STORAGE

Methods of food preparation and storage differ only in detail from those of the Mexicans. The tortilla is the principal food. Maize, after being soaked in lye or wood ashes, is ground on the metate, and the dough is shaped into round flat cakes somewhat larger and thicker than the Mexicans ordinarily make. These are cooked over a slow fire and are somewhat more thoroughly baked than is the case with local Mexican tortillas. Maize is also parched, ground dry on the metate, and mixed with water to make atole. All other foods are usually boiled in pottery vessels (the Yaqui use more metal vessels). While the range of foods prepared is even less than among local Mexicans, it includes some dishes not used by the latter.

Maguey (kú'u) is gathered and roasted in pit ovens, although it is now rare. *Maguey* now comes principally from the hills and is sold as a sweetmeat. The leaves are peeled from the stalk and the stalk roasted. Tamales made from the ripe pitahaya are greatly relished. A few Indians bake sweetened wheat-flour breads in Mexican type domed or conical outdoor ovens. Sometimes sheep or goats are roasted in the pit oven. Squash is eaten fresh or is dried in the sun, by being cut either in half or sliced in long strips which are hung on the ends of house or kitchen rafters.

Maize storage methods differ from local Mexican practices only in detail. The storage place is usually a brush-covered ramada-like structure often only a few feet from the ground (pl. 2, fig. 2). Maize on the cob, frequently husked, is piled on these ramadas. What rain falls drains through the grain, and the air quickly dries it after storms. The ramada sometimes is high off the ground with an outflaring criblike pole structure around the edges. This type is particularly common at Bacavachi. A similar small structure is often filled with maize husks for wrapping native cigarettes or tamales. Squash is frequently stored beneath the ramada. Beans, shelled maize, and garbanzos are generally stored in large cane-splint baskets inside the house. The house roof is a frequent storage place for maize or fodder (pl. 3, fig. 1).

Various foods are:

helítes (*quelites*), greens (generic), garbanzo shoots and tips of squash vines being favorites.
kuvíno, *mescal*, potent distilled drink made from *maguey*.
saktúsi, pinole, ground parched maize.
sáki, parched maize.
pósori, maize dough boiled with beans.
táskari (tortillas), wheat-flour or maize-dough cakes cooked over a slow fire on a flat clay dish (*comal*).

posorímme, maize and beans boiled together.
kosído (*cocido*), bones and garbanzos, boiled together.
munbákki, boiled beans.
masobákki, boiled deer meat.
ninikóbba, cooked tongue (**nína**, tongue; **kṓbba**, head).
hurinábo, tunas or prickly pears, fruit of the *nopal.*
cúnam, *huigos*, wild figs (?).
húnam bannári, atole of mesquite beans, *péchita.*
ávarim sóbva, toasted green maize.
kámam lóbo, tender green squash.
wáibasi buási, ripe guavas.
kówi nóxhi, tamales of peccary meat.
himái'i, blood pudding with herbs, cooked in stomach of an animal in the earth oven.
wáka nóxhi, tamales of beef.
cóa bórim, a bread of fruit of cholla cactus.
The wild plants gathered are given elsewhere (p. 11).

Following is a list of animals now eaten:

orizába, ocelot.
tarúkku, road runner.
húppa, turkey buzzard.
húri, badger.
sémmam, honeycomb.
húya kówi, peccary.
máso, deer.
buerábvo, wild cat.
garábis, another short-tailed cat.
wikúri, iguana.
móci, turtle.
tóri cíkul, large wood rat; 20 or 30 are cooked in a large olla with maize.
cīwis, wild turkey.
subáum, quail.

Numerous other animals, such as wild ducks and raccoons, probably are eaten, but were not mentioned by informants. Of domestic animals, the Yaqui eat all, including the burro and horse, but the Mayo refuse pig, burro, and horse.[8]

HOUSES

TYPES AND CONSTRUCTION

Mayo house construction is less differentiated from the Mexican than is that of the Yaqui. The Mayo frequently made adobe houses where there is no danger of flooding. The better class of adobe houses is to be seen on the north bank of the river on the stretches of mesa near Navojoa. The adobe bricks are laid in courses, and exteriors and interiors are often whitewashed over a coating of mud plaster. Similar plastering is also done without whitewashing.

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[8] Toor (1937, p. 54) says the Yaqui refuse eggs and chicken. This escaped me. Certainly they now raise few chickens, but the Mayo have many, as do the Yaqui of Pascua in Arizona.

The most common Mayo construction is the wattle-and-daub type. In all these (and some adobe structures) the roof is supported by posts independently of the walls. The walls, whether of adobe or wattle-and-daub construction, are filled in after the roof is erected. The wattle construction is of pliable branches interwoven between stout uprights in a wicker technique (fig. 3; pl. 3, fig. 2). The Yaqui frequently substitute canes for the pliable branches. Mud plastering is applied over this wattle base, the mud frequently being mixed with dung. Walled ramadas and separate kitchens are not usually plastered.

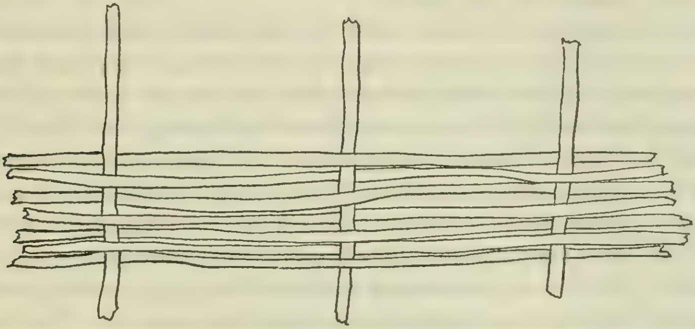

FIGURE 3.—Section illustrating wattle technique used for house walls.

Yaqui construction usually is technologically better than Mayo. The workmanship is neater and there are several types of wall construction rarely found among the Mayo. The use of mats for walls is frequent among the Yaqui, but among the Mayo is mostly confined to ramadas. The Yaqui wall entire houses this way, the mats being held in place by horizontal poles on either side running between the roof posts and fastened together with mesquite-bark strips or,

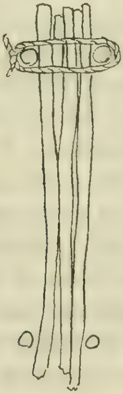

FIGURE 4.—Vertical thatch used for house walls. For further details see McMillan (1936, pl. 10).

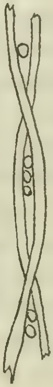

FIGURE 5.—Vertical wattle used for house walls and fences. For further details see McMillan (1936, pl. 10).

more frequently, with baling wire. Walls of other types are frequently lined with mats by the Yaqui.

Vertical thatch is much used by the Yaqui and is invariably mat-lined. Arrowweed, cornstalks, or other materials are held upright between 2 or 3 pairs of horizontal poles tied together with mesquite bark or wire (fig. 4; pls. 3, fig. 1; 4, fig. 1). The same type of wall is occasionally made by the Mayo.

Vertical wattling is much used by the Yaqui and resembles the horizontal wattling technique (fig. 5). Fences are made of canes in the same way. Most Yaqui house yards are fenced with cane fences, which are rare and of inferior workmanship among the Mayo.[9]

Yaqui and Mayo houses usually have one or more rectangular rooms, each with a single door and no windows, except an occasional ventilating hole in some adobe structures (pls. 3, 4). A ramada is generally before the house, usually completely open but sometimes partly closed with mats, wattle, or arrowweed walls. Cooking is usually done in a separate structure or, sometimes, under the ramada. The kitchen structures have a more or less rainproof roof in contrast with the ramada. Kitchen walls are often made by filling in the space between the roof supports with any convenient materials—cornstalks, arrowweed, cane, split pitahaya skeletons, or even brush and chunks of wood. Sometimes the walls are made palisade-fashion by setting upright posts in the earth, pitahaya skeletons being most usual. The entrance is frequently provided with a gate or door, or else a row of stakes or logs is placed across the entrance, low enough to step over but high enough to discourage prowling dogs and pigs (pls. 3, fig. 1; 5, fig. 1).

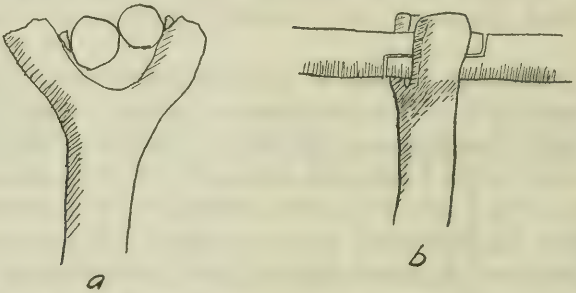

FIGURE 6.—Methods of joining roof beams. *a*, Ordinary method of wedging unshaped ends into crotch of post. *b*, Mortised joint for roof beams.

House and ramada roofs are supported by uprights of forked mesquite or ironwood trunks set in the ground. Cedar, brought from the mountains, is occasionally used. Crosspieces of mesquite or occasionally cottonwood, sometimes roughly squared, run between the forked uprights and support the rafters. These crosspieces are usually wedged firmly with blocks of wood. Two joining crosspieces are sometimes roughly morticed in a lap joint but more often they are wedged into the same crotch side by side (fig. 6). Mesquite rafters are preferred, but where mesquite is scarce, anything convenient is used, especially the skeletons of pitahaya. If the space to be roofed is too wide for the rafters, additional supporting posts and crosspieces are placed in the middle of the room.

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[9] For a good discussion of Yaqui architecture with many illustrations, see McMillan (1936), especially plates 9 and 10.

The wood used in this construction is cut after the full moon. Then the "water goes down," the wood is drier, and worms will not eat it.

Up to this point the roofs of the ramada, kitchen, and house are essentially the same. For the ramada a brush or arrowweed covering over the rafters suffices. The kitchen roof is similar with an additional layer of grass covered with mud. House roofs are usually more elaborate. Across the rafters, which are more closely spaced than in the other structures, canes (occasionally sticks carefully cut) are laid close together, and at their ends and in the middle are twined to the rafters with mesquite bark or *maguey*-fiber cord. Above the canes may be laid either brush or mats, sometimes brush on top of the mats. The whole is covered with dried grass and mud to a thickness of several inches. The mud is sometimes mixed with dung and is always carefully puddled before being placed on the roof. The roof often has a slight pitch, probably more accidental than planned.

There appears to be no distinction between the roof construction of Yaqui, Mayo, and Mexican in permanent structures. These earthen roofs leak somewhat during a heavy rain, and in this respect are inferior to the thatched roofs in the mountains as near as Alamos or on the Fuerte. Only two thatched houses were seen on the whole lower Mayo, one having been built by a man who had lived in Alamos (pl. 5, fig. 2). In the hills, palm is the common thatching material, but on the coast, grass is used. The Spanish term "*jacal*" is generally used for these structures, but the word "capakári" was also noted.

On the lower Fuerte River, a peculiar type of house is common, especially about Ahome and between Ahome and the river. Its ground plan is an oblong with rounded ends and with doors on both the long sides (usually not directly opposite one another), wattled or "palisade" walls, rarely plastered, and a thatched semi-gable roof. Some have a ramada before one or both doors. Others were a transverse half section only of this house, the open end being wholly or partly filled with wattle or other construction. In general there is much more use of thatch on the lower Fuerte and much less use of mats.

The Yaqui make a small temporary shelter of double lean-to construction as described in detail in the first part of this study (Beals, 1943, p. 21).

In front of the ramada of almost every Mayo and Yaqui house is placed a small cross, evidently more or less vestigial. The one cross

I saw which was of undoubted antiquity, said to be from 75 to 100 years old, was nearly 9 feet high with some scrollwork ornamentation carved on it (pl. 6, fig. 1). The only explanation for the crosses was that they kept the house from being struck by lightning. They also figure in some ceremonial connections. On the Fuerte River, crosses before houses are rather rare.

UTILIZATION AND FURNISHING

The ramada is the workroom and living quarters of the family; weaving and spinning goes on there. Usually, there are benches for seats, and the edge of the ramada is frequently bordered with potted plants and flowers, commonly on a rough bench out of reach of wandering pigs. Mayo house yards are open, in noticeable contrast with those of Yaqui houses, where the ramada is inside a high fence so that no one can see what goes on about the house. A parakeet usually lives under the ramada on a stick or in a cage. On poles, suspended from the rafters by wires, are hung saddles, ropes, blankets, and harness. Sometimes wooden hooks made from naturally bent sticks are hung from rafters or posts to hold ropes or other articles. They are barked and grooved at one end to receive the cord (fig. 7). If the family makes cheese, the product is laid on a platform of canes suspended from the roof. The roof supports may have bunches of cholla cactus tied to them to prevent cats or rats from climbing up to the articles suspended from the roof beams. Also hung from the ramada is generally a cradle, a cratelike arrangement of canes or straight branches, open at the top. (See McMillan, 1936, pl. 9.) A large water jar set in the crotch of a tree trunk planted in the ground under the ramada is usual (pl. 5, fig. 2). A gourd water dipper hangs near it. On the walls or posts always hang two or three gourd canteens (fig. 8, *a–c*).

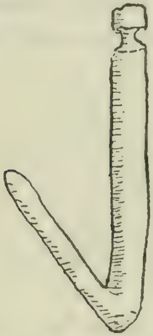

FIGURE 7.—Wooden hook used for hanging hopes and clothing from roof beams or walls.

Beds sometimes are in the house but much more often are under the ramada. The customary type is the *tapeste*, a word used also for a hanging shelf, made of canes, palm-leaf ribs, or other suitable material twined close together at the ends and middle and laid across two trestles or simply on two logs. A mat, preferably of palm leaf, serves as a mattress, the sleepers rolling themselves in blankets. The mat and canes are rolled up together during the day and stand against the wall of the house, and the trestles are stacked up or used as seats. Beds of this type are somewhat rarer among Yaqui than Mayo. In poor families, a mat or the bare ground suffices. In any case, there are never enough beds to go around. A good many families have one or more beds of Mexican style, a heavy framework in which are stretched crisscross strips of rawhide. These are stood up at one side of the ramada during the day (pl. 6, fig. 2). On the Fuerte River, the *tapeste* type was seen only at Capomas.

The house proper contains little furniture. If any chairs are owned, they are apt to be kept inside to be brought out for visitors. There is usually, but not always, a small altar, a table decorated according to the means of the family with a white sheet, a candle or two, and some paper flowers. If a saint is represented, it is either by a picture or, rarely, by a dressed wooden figure. The house altar is less frequent among the Yaqui, and the saint is generally represented by a picture. The Yaqui have less furniture in general, owing to the uncertainty of their residence. One or more chests and a mirror complete the usual furniture. In the chests are kept surplus clothing (if the family possesses any), trinkets, valuables, heirlooms, and tools. Aside from the tools and clothes, the collection is usually of no value—a pair of broken earrings, perhaps some notched rasping sticks or weaving tools belonging to some dead ancestor, and quaint objects picked up during the owner's life or kept as mementos because they are no longer used. These things are rarely treasured, and no difficulty was encountered in purchasing for a trifle a number of interesting specimens. On the walls may be pasted some cheap prints or pictures cut from magazines and newspapers.

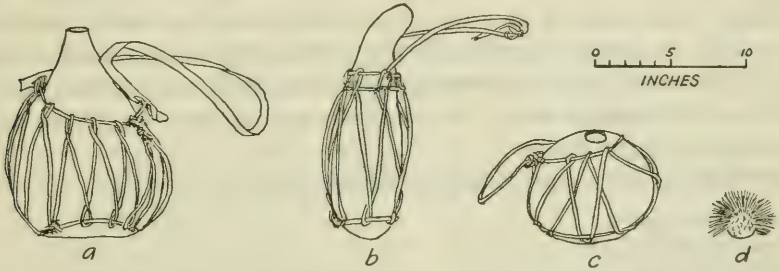

FIGURE 8.—Types of gourd water bottles, or canteens (*a–c*); *d* is an *echos*-burr hair brush. (Univ. Calif. Mus. Cat. 3, Nos. (*a*) 3203, (*b*) 3202, (*c*) 3201, (*d*) 3210.)

The kitchen equipment is crude. The fireplace usually consists of one or more horseshoe-shaped clay fireboxes about 6 inches in depth and a foot across. (See McMillan, 1936, pl. 9.) Often these are on the ground, but sometimes they rest on brick or adobe bases 3 feet or so in height and large enough to afford resting places for two or three pots not in use. Among the Mayo, cooking is done almost entirely in earthenware pots, of which each family usually has a fair assortment, but usually the Yaqui use metal cooking vessels. Almost universal is a granite or tinware coffee pot. Customarily there are a few enameled cups and sometimes a tin or enameled plate or so. Spoons are common, but knives and forks rare. Cooking spoons are made of wood with a shallow round bowl in the plane of the handle (fig. 1, *f*,*g*). The small utensils are stuck in crevices of the walls, hung on projecting points, or placed on platforms of cane hanging from the roof, which also contain what few items of surplus food there may be.

The metate is of slab type, generally set in the crotch of a mesquite tree cut off and set in the ground. Sometimes it is used on the ground or on a table. The mano is squarish in cross section and is not as wide as the metate, so that the latter wears down in the middle leaving a ridge on either side. The metate is often simply a boulder with one flat side. It rarely is finished all over. Another crotched limb or small tree trunk provides a place for a wooden bowl below the metate. Wooden bowls are extensively used to mix foods (fig. 1, *d*, *e*).

Some families have large dome-shaped ovens of Mexican type made of brick or adobe in which some baking is done (pl. 6, fig. 3). In such cases large, elongated, legged wooden mixing troughs are used to mix the dough (fig. 1, *h*). Similar but legless troughs are used to wash clothes. They are set on a slope and the clothes are beaten on them by hand. Water is poured over the clothes from a receptacle at the side. These troughs are sometimes raised on adobe bases, with a trench to carry off excess water. The clothes washing place is usually some distance from the house.

Following are names of household implements:

búli, water gourd.
wéka, gourd dipper.
máta, metate.
matakukári, mano (muller).
atésa, wooden trough for washing clothes.
wakóra, *comal*, half lenticular clay dish for cooking tortillas.
purátos (*platos?*), small plates or bowls.
tinajitas, small-mouthed ollas.
kahéte (*cajete?*), straight-sided bowl.
sótori, any large olla.

An important adjunct to most houses is a notched log ladder used to reach the roof for repairs or to reach the raised storage places, whether on the roof or a special ramada. In one case its use was noted as a stile to cross a fence.

MANUFACTURES

TOOLS AND WEAPONS

In outlying districts, bows and arrows are still widely used for hunting purposes. Children as well as men carry them, the only difference being in the size and quality of workmanship. The craftsmanship is in no case good, and the bows are very unimpressive. *Garambuyo* (kumbumtebwáne) wood is used. (Kúta wíkam teyáne, "wood shooting weapon let us make," i. e., let us make bows.) An adult's bow is about 5 feet long, only slightly curved when unstrung. When strung, the curve is greatest at the ends. Strings are of *maguey* fiber, twisted rawhide, or sinew. They are loosened or tightened by twisting the ingenious knot. Arrows are long, usually of cane, with a foreshaft 6 to 8 inches long, of hardwood or telegraph wire inserted into the shaft, the joint being wrapped with sinew. Only arrows used for hunting big game are feathered, three feathers always being used, split and tied with sinew (Beals, 1943, pl. 2, *b;* fig. 3). Stone points evidently were known aboriginally; the Buelna dictionary gives Vicam, the name of a Yaqui town, as meaning "black stone for arrow points" (Buelna, 1891, p. 181). Cane spears with hardwood foreshaft are used for hunting peccary.

The wrist guard of skin is now rare, but the quiver is still carried. It is of peccary or other skin with the fur on the outside, and often quite short; the longest seen did not cover the feathered part of the arrows. It is slung over the shoulder with a cord, usually of *maguey* fiber.

Most tools are either European or copies of European tools. Knives, axes, hatchets, hammers, saws, and the inevitable machete, all entirely European, are the principal tools not mentioned in other contexts. But the saw, hammer, or plow may have a home-made handle. Planes usually are made of hardwood, only the blade being purchased. The sewing machine is ubiquitous among the Mayo. Scissors and needles are in the possession of all.

Hrdlička (1904, p. 66) says the Yaqui bows occasionally were strengthened with sinew wrappings. He describes them as flat, slightly arched, and about 5 feet long. His illustrations closely resemble the present-day weapons. He says the arrows were of reed with hardwood tips and three feathers, if any.

LOOM WEAVING

Practically the only weaving done by the Cáhita at present is found among the Mayo and is confined to three classes of articles: blankets, sashes, and bags. The first two are of wool, the last of *maguey* fiber. The methods of weaving wool and *maguey* fiber are distinct.

The blankets are of two types called locally *cobijas* or blankets, and *serapes*, the difference being in the type of design and, to some extent, in the quality of the weaving. The blankets are woven mostly for home use, the *serapes* for sale almost entirely to local Mexicans or tourists. Nevertheless, the latter are distinctly Indian in design and weaving (fig. 9, *a–c*; 10, *a*, *b*).

The blanket (*cobija*) is almost always in stripes, sometimes very narrow, or in quadrangular lining. Some have a fine design resulting from the method of weaving. There is no center design and usually

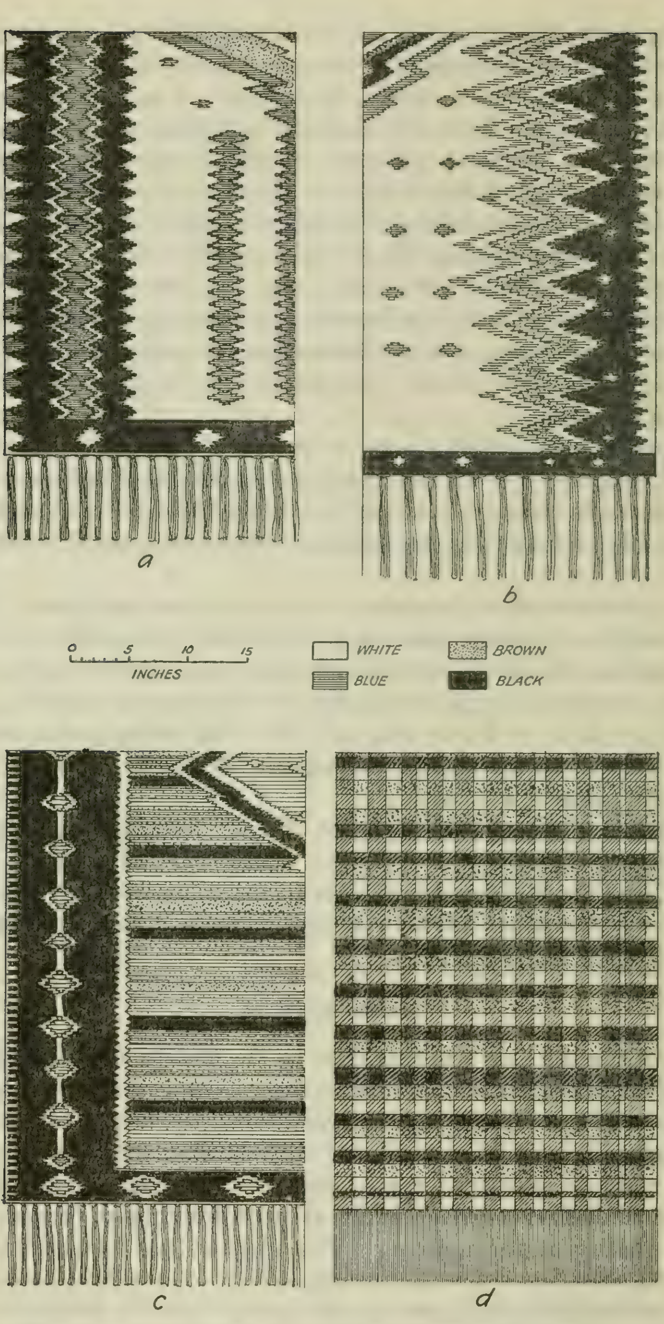
a
b
0
5
10
15
INCHES
WHITE
BROWN
BLUE
BLACK
c
d

Figure 9.—Mayo broadloom fabrics. *a*, *b*, and *c*, Three Mayo *serapes*, one-quarter only, showing design. *d*, Mayo *cobija* of unusually fine quality, one-quarter only, showing fine woven design. (Univ. Calif. Museum Cat. 3, Nos. 3245, 3424, 3335, 3333.)

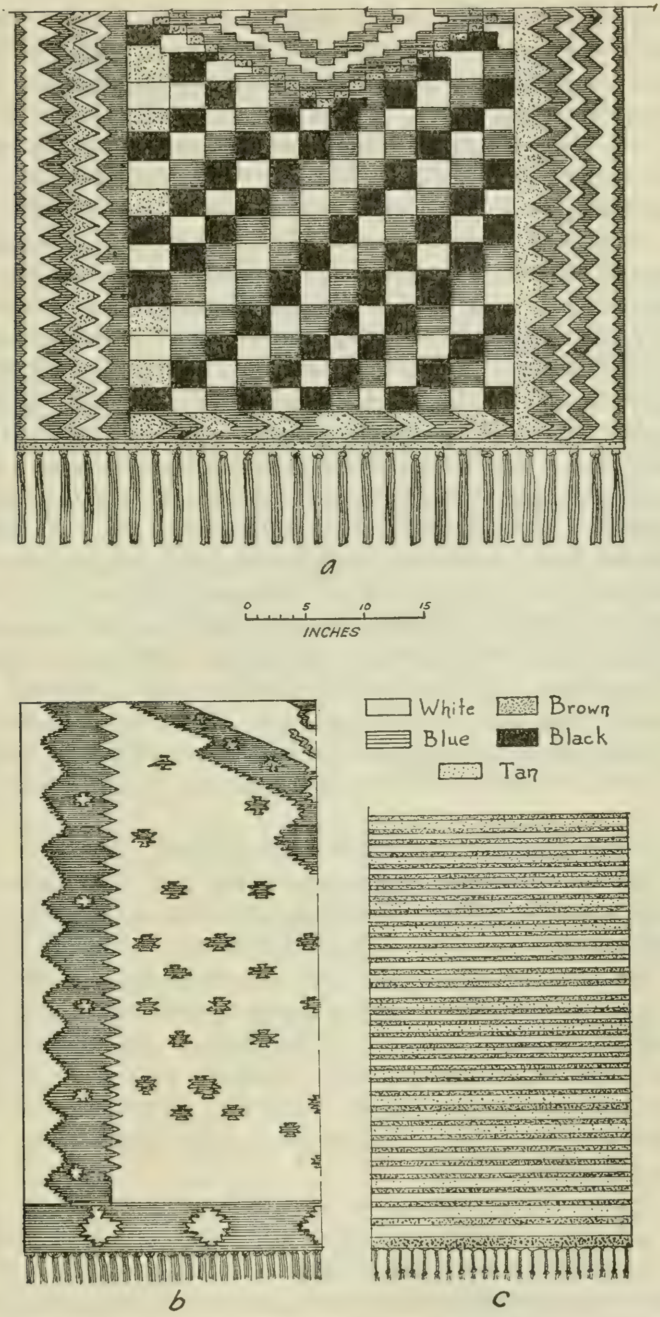
a
0 5 10 15
INCHES
White
Brown
Blue
Black
Tan
b
c

FIGURE 10.—Mayo broadloom fabrics. *a*, *Serape*, one-half shown. The checkered background is unusual. *b*, *Serape*, one-quarter shown. *c*, *Cobija*, one-quarter shown. (Univ. Calif. Mus., Cat. 3, Nos. 3426, 3332, 3334.)

only a narrow end border, if any (fig. 10, *c*). The blanket usually is less tightly woven than the *serape*, but not always. Some of the best blankets are woven with a finer thread and are tighter and heavier than the *serapes* (fig. 9, *d*). The *serape* is usually woven with end borders and always with side borders, the two frequently being of different designs. The background tends to be of solid colors, spotted with small designs in colors, and with a more or less elaborate center design, roughly in diamond shape. The backgrounds are sometimes quadrangular, that is, built up of square blocks of contrasting colors; still more rare are large fretlike designs. Practically all common designs may be analyzed as being built up of isosceles triangles, except for the side borders. The latter commonly contain zigzag elements running the length of the piece, although they also may be built up of triangles. A few floral designs are made, and sell at about double the usual prices. One badly made design was seen showing the Mexican eagle in the center; and it is said that such designs formerly were more common. It is claimed that the designs of 30 or 40 years ago were different and the weaving much better, but I saw no pieces which would substantiate this opinion. There are a few early references to this effect, however. The Yaqui do practically no weaving, although earlier it must have been common. Hrdlička (1904, p. 65) notes that Yaqui manufacture of cotton and woolen fabrics had declined greatly at the time of his visit over 30 years ago. He mentions a belt and a white *serape*, the latter with one or two broad stripes in pale blue, natural brown, or black. The colors, but not the design, suggest Mayo work.

There seems no great specialization in designs. In several houses I saw a number of blankets and *serapes* made, and while there existed differences in quality between families, there seemed to be no emphasis on a particular design. It is difficult to find two identical blankets, in spite of the fact that the designs are all recombinations of a rather limited number of elements. A few towns showed some specialization. Bacavachi makes large numbers of excellent *serapes* and only a few blankets, these of unusual quality. Masiaca makes no *serapes* to speak of but many poor-quality blankets. Elsewhere, weaving is by no means so general, and differences in quality seem to be between individual families.

Few weavers know names for the designs used; those who do usually call them all "flowers." One informant, an old weaver, gave specific names for a number of designs and could probably have given more had it been possible to show her blankets. The same informant claimed that very fine light wool was woven in her childhood. The names and phrases that she used follow:

kamabácim, pumpkin seed.
ayawibácim, crooked-neck squash seed.

pusera, eye.
saka'áwim, scorpion.
kwé·yo, center design.
culebrillo, snake (native term forgotten). A border design.
plu'ma, feather (native term forgotten). A border design.
sérka pusera, blanket with eyes. An all-over design.
pása, border of blanket in mixed colors.
sérka, blanket.
pisárum, *serapes*.
séwam amahó·wa, making flowers.
lístam amahó·wa, making stripes.
pisáru amamhihóa, beginning the *serape*.
séwam amamnáte, beginning the weaving with flowers.
nasukúku kwe yóta honáta serápim, beginning to weave *serapes* with flowers and center design.
sewáte amamnáte (amamhoa), making the flowers.
arahihóa huhámut, the woman knows how to weave.
amá'awe ánia huatekïlia, the woman keeps at her business.

The average blanket or *serape* takes about 2 months' work for a single woman, but generally several women and girls in a household work at the spinning and weaving. One woman usually does most of the weaving, being relieved of many common household tasks. Very little weaving is done in winter when days are short and often cold. In every blanket the design is determined to some extent by the colors of the wools available, as natural colors are extensively employed. The design is worked out on the loom as the blanket is woven without the use of a pattern. In the hands of an unskillful operator this brings some unpleasant results.

Most families doing much weaving have their own flock of sheep or goats (goat hair is used also). However, few weavers produce enough wool. The necessity of procuring additional wool and wools of special shades leads to a certain amount of trading. This trading, and generally the selling of the blankets in town, usually Navojoa, is performed by the men and is their only share in the business.

The preparation of wool (kabarabóba) is done by women and girls. At present the most common method of preparing the wool for spinning is to beat it with a pliable switch or stick (pl. 7, fig. 1). This stick is cut from a special shrub and peeled. The wool is first picked over by hand; tangles, burrs, or portions of the fleece of a different color are cut out with scissors. The wool is then piled on swept hard ground or on a goat skin, and beaten. This takes some time. A special movement seems required, the switch being drawn toward the operator and shaken lightly after each blow to disentangle it from the wool. As it is beaten the pile flattens out and the edges are folded back to the center with the stick. When the wool is sufficiently fluffy, it is piled in a basket to await spinning. There is no carding of the wool.

Another method of preparing wool, which is still in use occasionally, particularly in outlying villages, is with a bow. The edge of the pile of wool, which has previously been picked over, is laid on the string of a small, specially made bow. The string is then plucked. The vibration loosens the fibers and at the same time draws the whole mass forward slightly so that without further arrangement the entire pile may be prepared for spinning by simply plucking the bow (pl. 9, fig. 2).

The wool is spun with a spindle of wood (*malacate*, híkuri).[10] The pottery whorl is unknown either to the Mexican or Indian population. The whorl used is a round wooden disk near the lower end of the spindle. This is usually light, but for fine thread such as that used in making nets, it is often thicker (pl. 7, fig. 1). At Bacavachi these spindles are all made by one family and purchased by the others. The lower end of the spindle usually rests in a fragment of broken pottery on the ground or simply on the bare ground and is twirled with the fingers of the right hand. The wool rests in the lap or in a basket and is fed with the fingers of the left hand. The operator usually sits on a low chair or stool. The thread (huí'i) is allowed to slip over the end of the spindle until a sufficient twist is given to a section about a yard in length. This is then wound on the spindle above the whorl and the operation repeated.

The thread is first spun rather loosely and then wound in large balls. It is subsequently given an additional twist, reducing its diameter about half. The irregularities and lumps in the thread are removed in the second spinning by pulling them apart with the fingers. For very fine thread a third spinning may be given, but this is rare. If the wool is to be dyed, it is now formed into skeins. If it is not to be dyed, it may either be wound in balls or hung up in skeins after being washed.

The natural colors of white, black, and various shades of brown and gray predominate in the blankets and *serapes*. The dyed colors are blue, pink, green, and yellow. Of these, only blue is used to any extent. It is also the only color always made from native dyes; the others usually are purchased. In fact, colors other than blue are so little used that a little commercial yarn of the required color is often bought. Blue, as well as a lustrous black, is produced from indigo (cíhu), which grows wild in the region. The shade is varied by diluting the dye. The entire plant is gathered. The pods are plucked off with the fingers, dried in a short time, and boiled in urine with a little water. The cooked mixture is then diluted. Knowledge of what plants were used for other colors is apparently almost lost, and

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[10] A. L. Kroeber points out that "híkuri" equals Huichol "hikuli," the Huichol name for *peyote*.

I was unable to discover any except that a root figured in the making of yellow. All were boiled in urine.

The loom (hiótori) (fig. 11) is made of four posts set upright in the ground, called baúri. Two crosspieces (pása) are held on opposite sides of the posts and the warp is wrapped about these. Tension on the warp is increased by pushing one bar farther down than the other. As the work advances, the working point is kept at the same place by sliding the warp around the crosspieces. The weaver sits on the ground or on a mat or skin before the lower of the two cross bars (pl. 9, fig. 1). When not in use, the entire apparatus except the upright posts may be rolled up and put inside the house.

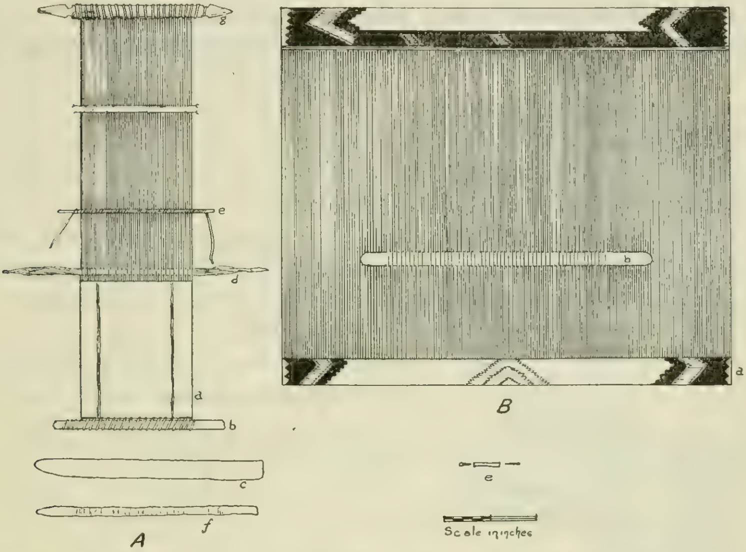

Figure 11.—Mayo looms. *A*, Belt loom, used for weaving *maguey* fiber. The partially finished fabric is shown at *a*, the lower loom bar at *b*. The upper loom bar, *g*, is lashed to a house beam. The batten is shown at *c*, the shuttle at *d*, the heddle at *e*, the shedding bar (which should be inserted above *e*) at *f*, the upper loom bar at *g*. A leather strap with loops at either end is slipped over the ends of *b* and passes about the weaver's thighs. The strap was difficult to buy at a reasonable price and was not collected. (Univ. Calif. Mus., Cat. 3, No. 3323, *a–g*.) *B*, Broadloom with unfinished serape. The circular warp goes about two loom bars. The spreader, shown in miniature at *e*, is pinned behind the working edge at *a*. The batten is shown at *b*. Above the batten should be a heddle and shedding bar as on the belt loom. (Univ. Calif. Mus., Cat. 3, No. 3324 *a–e*.)

The warp is circular but not continuous. That is, the warp threads go about each of the loom bars and the ends are tied together, but each warp thread is separate. Two planes are thus formed by the warp, the work being done in the upper plane. The warp of the border is usually a different color from that of the remainder of the piece. In certain types with self-design, the warp colors are alternated throughout.

When the warp is set up, a round rod (na·b), usually of cane, is inserted across the warp, the threads passing alternately over and under it. The heddle (cóma) is next set up. A light rod is laid across the warp and a string tied to one end, which is then wrapped round and round the rod, picking up one or more warp threads on each circuit, according to the design intended. In the normal set-up, one heddle is used, and every other warp thread is picked up by a loop of the string, the threads being those which pass under the cross bar (na·b). This makes it possible to reverse the sheds. A light rod laid across the top of the warp between heddle and na·b is used as a support for the other three fingers while the heddle is operated by lifting between thumb and forefinger. The sword (sasapaiyéka) is used not only as a batten but is inserted in the shed formed when the heddle is lifted. It is then turned on edge to permit the insertion of weft threads or the shuttle, if one is used. The previously inserted weft is not pounded down with the batten until the sheds have been reversed. The shuttle is a stick about 16 inches long around which the thread has been loosely wrapped in a figure 8. It is used only for the background or for large patches of color, small design ele-

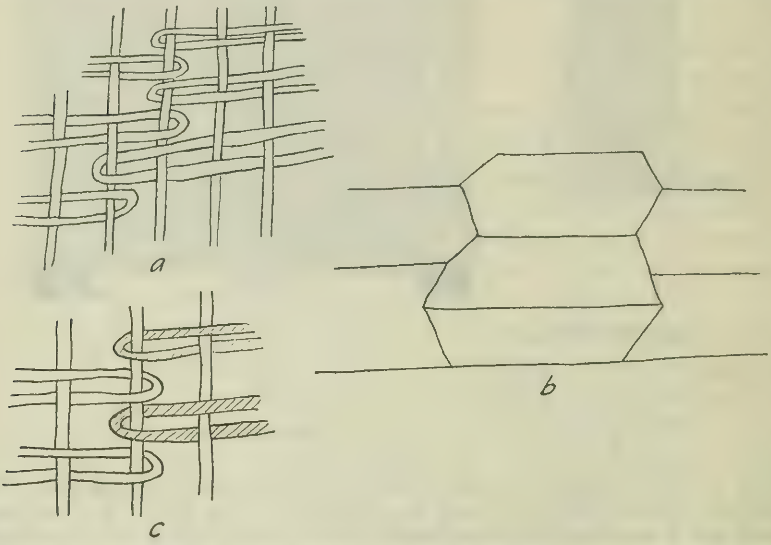

FIGURE 12.—Details of weaving techniques. *a*, Method of joining weft threads about the warp. The lower weft illustrates method of diagonal joining to produce effect in *b*. *b*, Diagram showing way fabric is built up in sections with diagonal joining. *c*, Method of joining sections of different colors.

ments being worked in with the fingers. Sufficient thread is unwound from the shuttle for each pass through the warp. The weft thread is not usually drawn tight but laid loosely in place and pulled down with the fingers before reversing the sheds.

The designs are in a type of tapestry technique, the weft threads of any design element being turned back around the warp thread coming at the edge of the design, the thread of the next adjoining color being turned about the same warp thread (fig. 12, *c*). Even in banded blankets or in *serape* backgrounds the entire width of the piece is not worked at one time but is woven in sections, the weft elements being advanced 4 to 8 inches in one section before the next section is woven. These sections are visible if the blanket is held to a strong light (fig. 12, *b*). At the edge of each section the weft threads are turned about the warp; as each weft is inserted, it turns about a different warp from the preceding weft, but the corresponding weft of the next section is turned over the same warp (fig. 12, *a*). When the blanket is cut off the loom, about a foot of warp remains to form a fringe which is sometimes tied or braided. The width of the work is kept uniform by pinning the edges of the finished work into a cane which is later unpinned and advanced behind the work edge of the fabric. Weaving with more than one heddle is rare, but one such set-up was analyzed. In this case three heddles were used in combination with the separating bar (na·b) to give four possible sheds. The design was of fine stripes in which diamond-shaped figures appeared. The weft consisted of alternate series of four black and four white threads, the warp alternating two brown and two white threads. The weft for this blanket was pulled tight and hammered down harder than usual. The arrangement of heddles and separating or shedding bar gave the following combinations, considering the warp threads from left to right as *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d*, in groups of four. The shedding bar put *a* and *d* down, *b* and *c* up; the first heddle put *c* and *d* down, *a* and *b* up; the second heddle *b* and *c* down, *a* and *d* up; the third heddle *a* and *b* down, *c* and *d* up.

It is interesting to discover that the only early detailed account of weaving for northwest Mexico, ascribed to the Opata, could be used almost word for word to describe modern Mayo weaving. This indicates that the method was general in the region.

> They weave their thread with sufficient ingenuity and in different manners; the [work] resembles, in point of design though not in fineness, the table cloths of Germany, for which said similarity [pieces] are called "*alemaniscos*"; . . . But let us see the manner, which is this: first they thrust in four stakes in proportion to the length and breadth the woven piece is to have, more or less distant one from the other. To each pair of these [stakes] which determine the width they fasten a long smooth stick about half a yard from the ground. This done, the warping begins. [Two] women place themselves one in front of the other between the two stakes on which are fastened the said rods. They pass a clew

of thread about these rods, and pass the clew from one to the other the times which are necessary for the number of threads which the warp must have.[11] [The warp being] finished, the weaver places herself before the example which she wishes to copy, and intercepts or catches by means of double threads the threads counted in accordance with the example. These double threads are fastened to small rods of equal length, making a certain sort of heddle, by means of which they are able to raise the division of the threads which they wish . . . To fasten further the said divisions, they put in each a broad stick well smoothed, like a sword blade, two, three, or more in accordance with the complexity of the weave. [There is evidently some confusion here.] These broad sticks are turned on edge with the heddle to make a place for the weft. This is inserted by means of a light small rod or twig with the weft coiled on it, serving as a shuttle. [The weft] is tightened with a heavy stick with points on both ends, and thus they proceed until their work is finished. Doc. Hist. Mex., 1853–57, 3^d ser., vol. 4, p. 550.]

Among the Mayo the making of sashes (hikósi) is done on the same large looms as are used for blankets. There are no special sash looms, but the tools used, such as spreader and batten, are naturally all much smaller. The batten for sashes is wider than the fabric, which is not the case with blankets (pl. 7, fig. 1). The belts are usually of plain solid colors, sometimes with stripes running the short dimension of the fabric. The making of these amounts to a village industry at Masiaca, but they are rarely made elsewhere and then usually to order.

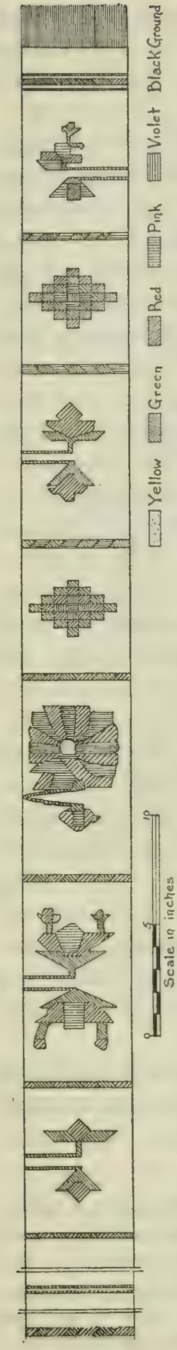

FIGURE 13.—Sash worn by men (partial view only) showing elaborate conventionalized floral design (Univ. Calif. Mus., Cat. 3, No. 3428).

(Similar but not illustrated are: No. 3337, 11 cm. wide, 2.68 cm. long, dark brown without pattern. No. 3338, Black ground with cross bands each consisting of 3 narrow stripes. Colors of stripes are successively magenta, green, magenta, blue, yellow, blue, magenta, green, magenta, green, repeating the series several times. No. 3340, Black ground with alternate cross bands of 8 and 7 narrow stripes. Colors of stripes in alternate bands are magenta, yellow, black, magenta, blue, black, magenta, yellow, followed by bands of blue and magenta stripes.)

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[11] This differs slightly from Mayo warping, which is circular, but not continuous.

Another type of sash has an elaborate floral design worked in the same tapestry technique used for blankets. Floral sashes are said to be made mostly in Ahome, a fact I was unable to verify, but I bought one specimen made not far from Navojoa at Chukarit (fig. 13). The Yaqui formerly made sashes also (Hrdlička, 1904, p. 65).

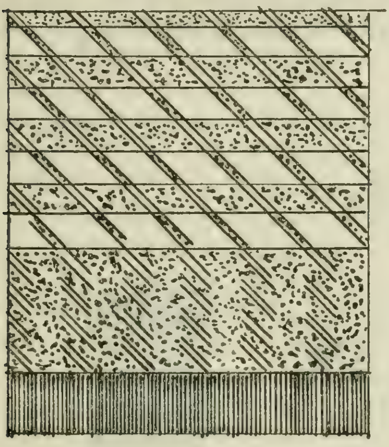

FIGURE 14.—Portion of wide woven belt, 19 cm. wide, 2.05 m. long. When faced with canvas at each end, similar belts are used as pack latigos. (Univ. Calif. Mus., Cat. 3, No. 3336.)

The sashes are said to prevent rupture when lifting heavy weights, but in spite of this alleged virtue, they are rapidly being displaced by leather belts. Wider and longer woven bands faced with canvas at each end, are used as latigos for packing mules or burros (fig. 14).

Maguey-fiber weaving among the Mayo is almost entirely a man's occupation, the women merely stitching together the sides of the bags which are made from the woven material. At Masiaca, bag weaving is a regular occupation of many of the Indians, possibly owing to the closeness of the hills with more abundant supplies of raw material. Some work in *maguey* fiber is also done on the north bank of the river, where the gravelly mesa soil supports a considerable number of *maguey* plants.

There is some specialization. At Masiaca some men do nothing but gather the leaves of the plant and extract the fiber. Others only spin and weave. In extracting the fiber the leaf is impaled at its butt end on a nail on the under side of a 6-inch log set in the ground at a 45° angle. It is then brought around the end of the log and laid on the flattened upper surface. The pulpy part of the leaf is scraped away with a simple tool made of a steel blade set in the angle of a conveniently shaped tree branch. When the pulp has been scraped away, the fiber is laid in the sun to dry.

Spinning is always done by two men. The instrument which is said to be the older is a pendulumlike piece of heavy wood under a foot in length, which rotates on a small rod passing through a hole in the lighter end. The thread is started with the fingers until it can be tied to the projection on the lighter end. One man then twirls the instrument in his hand, walking away from his helper, who feeds the fiber into the thread. Rawhide ropes are twisted with the same instrument.

A more modern instrument is a rod with a flywheel set between two posts. The specimens secured were all of wood, but the majority in use at present are of metal. The rod is rotated by a cord drawn around it and pulled under tension. When the end of the cord is reached, the tension is released and the cord rapidly returned to the previous position for another pull. The thread is attached to a hook at one end of the rod and the fiber is fed into the thread by another person walking backward away from the instrument and carrying a bunch of *maguey* fiber under his arm (pl. 8, fig. 1).

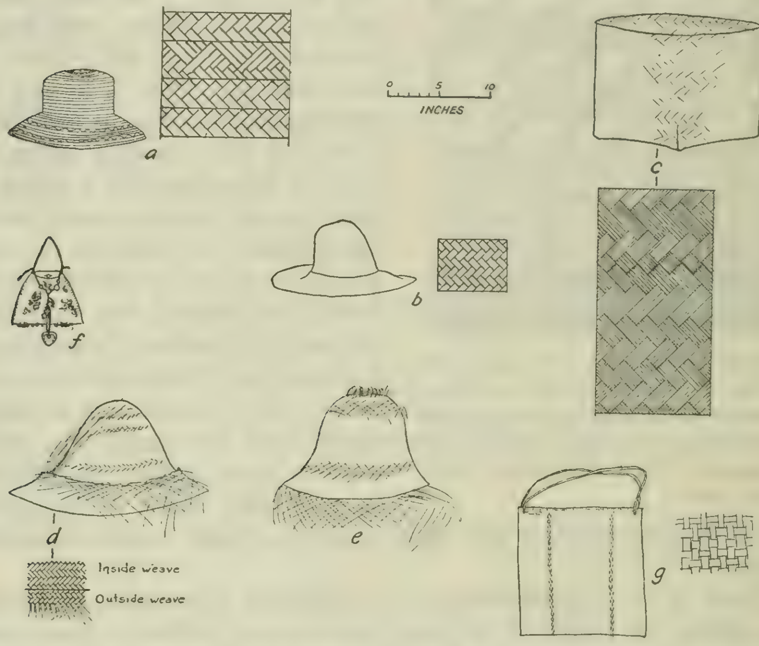

Figure 15.—Minor textile products. *a*, Hat of wheat-straw braid with detail showing variation in weave of braid. *b*, Hat of palm-leaf strips with detail showing weaving. *c*, A cane-splint basket with detail to show multiple warp and weft elements (Univ. Calif. Mus., Cat. 3, Nos. 3165, 3164, 3182). *d* and *e*, Two hats of palm fiber, *e* showing the inner weave, *d* the partially completed outer weave (Univ. Calif. Mus., Cat. 3, Nos. 3291, 3292). *f*, A girl's purse of sheepskin with shell and bead embroidered decoration (Univ. Calif Mus. Anthrop., Cat. 3, No. 3192). *g*, Bag of *maguey* fiber with detail showing simple weave. The material is woven on a belt loom such as that illustrated in figure 11 (Univ. Calif. Mus., Cat. 3, No. 3166).

The thread made by this method is always doubled and twisted a second time. For cord or rope a heavier thread is made and then doubled one or more times. All native rope is two or four ply, or occasionally eight ply.

Maguey-fiber weaving presents some differences from wool weaving. The warp is set up horizontally on 2 rods tied to 4 uprights like the wool loom, but the warp thread is continuous. Also, instead of being circular, it forms a figure 8 when wrapped. Sticks are inserted to preserve the sheds thus formed, and an end or loom cord is bound in. One loom stick is then bound to a rafter of the house or ramada, and a belt, in which the weaver sits, is looped over the ends of the other stick. A heddle of the type described above is set up and the weaving process proceeds upward until about half the fabric is woven (fig. 11, *A*). Then the entire loom is reversed and the weaving again progresses upward as far as it can. The fabric is then removed from the loom and the 2 woven sections cut apart, each one being the requisite size to make a *maguey*-fiber bag when folded and sewed along two sides. The average weaver makes about 12 strips or 24 bags, approximately 12 by 18 inches, every day (fig. 15, *g*).

Ordinarily these bags have only a stripe of color on each side, which is made by introducing a few turns of colored thread into the warp. Sometimes a checkerboard pattern is produced by using different colors in both warp and weft. Common colors are red, green, and sometimes blue, made from commercial dyes.

Lashing the loom to the rafter makes it necessary for the operator to sit or stand directly in front of the crosspiece. If he does not, the tension is unequal and the weaving crooked. This necessity would be obviated if, as in most Aztec looms, the top crosspiece or loom bar were suspended from a single point. Since this attachment would be even simpler than the present method, it is surprising that it has not been introduced. The tools used are the same as for the wool loom.

Other common products of *maguey* fiber are rope, cord, saddle pads of matted fiber stitched together, woven cinches, latigos, and other belts made on the same type of loom. It is significant that men do all the *maguey*-fiber weaving, as there is no indication that men wove anywhere in western Mexico in pre-Hispanic times.

A rare spinning instrument is the *taravia*, consisting of two flat pieces 6 to 8 inches in length which are lashed to cross members separating them by about 6 inches. The whole is rotated around a stick passing through holes slightly off center in the two flat pieces. The thread is attached to the shorter end of the forward piece. The principle is much the same as that of the pendulumlike instrument already described. The instrument is sometimes made of cane, sometimes of heartwood of mesquite or ironwood. It is said to be used for spinning very fine thread, the operator rotating the instrument with one hand and feeding the thread from a table with the other. The specimens collected appeared to have no important dissimilarity, although one was specified as being used to weave fine wool thread for sashes, the other for weaving fine *maguey* thread for *cahuetes*.

BASKETRY AND OTHER WEAVING

Aside from the ordinary textile techniques, the Mayo weave baskets, mats, hats, and nets. Basket weaving is widely practiced and there seems little specialization in the work. There are a variety of techniques but few of the baskets are decorated.

The most common baskets are of cane splints with a squarish bottom and a roughly circular top, the general form, however, being cubical (fig. 15, *c*). They are woven in a checker technique except that several splints are handled together as a single element. The canes are spit and woven while green. The baskets vary from 8 by 8 inches to 36 by 36 inches in depth and diameter respectively. The same material and technique is occasionally used for other baskets of hybrid shape, such as hampers and clothes baskets which are obviously of recent inspiration.

Smaller baskets are occasionally made of palm fiber in twilled and coiled techniques. Again there is no effort at decoration. The most interesting are the coiled baskets in a twisted half-hitch which are made mostly in the foothills. The shapes are numerous and seem little standardized. A child's hat made in twilled technique had a peculiar appendage to the crown; possibly it served as a carrying ring.

Baskets of peeled willow twigs in wicker technique are made in large quantities and sold in the local market, from whence they are often exported to more distant points. The majority are flat-bottomed oval shapes with flaring sides and a bail handle. They are used mainly as market baskets. Designs in red and green European dyes are applied as a rule, geometric figures always being used. The effect is gaudy but not pleasing. In manufacture, the willow twigs are peeled and woven green, being kept moist by frequent spraying of water from the mouth. The splints actually in use are passed through a bucket of water occasionally. The bottom is started by holding the beginning splints in place in a cleft stick stuck in the ground. There is some possible connection between the word for basket (wári) and willow (wáta). The shapes undoubtedly are not aboriginal although the technique may be.

Mats (hípata) are used extensively throughout the area for a variety of purposes. Mats of cane splints are used for shades, house walls, windbreaks, beds, and for holding the earth for the earthern house roofs. The mats of cane splints are made in the same simple checker technique used in making baskets. Mats of palm-leaf splints are the most interesting woven materials in basketry technique (pl. 8, fig. 2). They are made in a large variety of artistic twilled designs and are used primarily for sleeping mats. Both types seem fairly standardized to a size of about 3 by 6 feet.

Hats of wheat-straw braid and of palm fiber come principally from the vicinity of Tesia on the Mayo River and Cocorit on the Yaqui

River. They are made primarily in summer, and in dry weather the manufacture is often in subterranean rooms in order to keep the proper humidity. The palm-fiber hats are of particular interest because of their unusual technique, being doubled, the weaving starting at the center of the crown, working down to the brim and then back to the starting point, producing two layers (fig. 15, *a*, *b*, *d*, *e*).

At the present time mats and baskets are made by the men. The various types of hats are usually woven by women.

Horsehair bands and belts are made in some quantity by men. The hair is braided and the braids sewn together. The techniques and the products seem identical with those of the Mexicans.

No adequate information could be secured on netting. Only a few know the technique, and the modern productions may be entirely European in their origin.

Hammocks are made by a few of the Mayo from *maguey*-fiber string. While two specimens were purchased, it was impossible to find anyone making them or to get a description of the technique.

Today the Yaqui make almost no basketry, although the manufacture has been abandoned recently. The most common Yaqui basket around 1900 was a quadrilateral shape with rounded corners woven in checker pattern. The source says it was woven of palm strips, but this must be an error for cane. For the same period are described baskets of palm strips unlike anything I saw. They were twilled and double woven with a fine exterior and a coarser interior. This is the technique used in hats today. Cubical, cylindrical, and bottle shapes are mentioned. Palm hats and common baskets are mentioned for the upper Mayo country, and the double woven hats are described for the Yaqui (Hrdlička, 1902, pp. 60, 67).

DRESS AND ORNAMENT

Mayo and Yaqui women wear a one-piece cotton dress or more often a blouse and skirt. One or more petticoats and vests are worn underneath. The blouse is short, barely covering the waistline of the skirt. It is bodicelike and is pleated across the small of the back so that the short section below tends to stand out slightly. Often it lacks buttons, being tied at the throat with strings. The skirt frequently sweeps the ground. It flares considerably and is pleated heavily about the waist. Usually there are three or four horizontal lines of ruffles. It is evidently similar to Navaho women's dress. Dr. Parsons was of the opinion that the two are identical, although opportunity for exact comparison has not offered. The general effect is somewhat different because the Mayo and Yaqui make their dresses of cotton or light rayons, while the Navaho use heavier materials. Mayo women rarely wear *guaraches* (sandals), going barefoot except when in town. Then shoes are donned at the edge of town. Yaqui women make more use of sandals. Men and women wear the same sandal types. A rebozo of black or dark blue, the latter sometimes figured or striped with white, is worn over the head. The Yaqui often wear brighter colors, particularly at fiestas. The hair is long, usually in two braids either hanging or wound about the head. Old women and girls with short hair often wear it loose except for a cord about the head to keep it from hanging in the face (pls. 6, fig. 2; 9, fig. 1). Earrings, usually of gold, and combs are generally worn.

Men wear a cotton shirt, cotton trousers, sandals, a belt or sash, and a straw hat. Some of the more sophisticated wear shoes. The shirt is often of bright colors, more so than among the Mexicans, or may be black, as is frequent among the Yaqui. The Mayo, particularly outside the towns, wear the shirt tails outside the trousers and the front tails loosely knotted together. The straw hats are of finer weave than those customarily worn by the Mexicans, palm fiber frequently affording the material. Sashes, now being superseded by belts of leather, are of native manufacture, of wool in solid blue or brown, or with bright-colored stripes or floral patterns woven in. The horsehair belts made by the Mayo are all for sale. Sandals are home-made. The sole is ordinarily held on the foot by a leather thong passing between the big toe and the next digit, fastening to a loop passing over the instep. The latter in turn is either knotted through holes in the sole on either side of the ankle or through small loops of stiff wire attached to the sole at this point. Another loop from these attachments circles behind the heel. Hair is worn short, cut at home or by itinerant barbers. The face is smooth. In cold weather a blanket of home manufacture is worn over the shoulders.

Until a few years ago, it is said that boys and girls up to 17 or 18 went nearly naked in the outlying villages. At present, children dress much as do their elders except for shorter trousers and skirts. Boys occasionally wear only shirt and breechclout. Very young children are often naked, but there is a tendency for even this to be abandoned and apologies are frequently made for them.

The breechclout (bwa'him) worn by boys is probably an old form. A strip of cloth passes over a cord about the waist and the ends hang before and behind. Boys wear their hair short unless they have been vowed to some saint on account of illness. Then it is allowed to grow until the vow is complied with, when it is cut and given to the saint.

The hair is combed with burrs from the *echos* cactus (éco hicíkim). The spines covering the burrs are trimmed to a length of about one-half inch and are completely removed from a portion large enough to hold in the fingers (fig. 8, *d*).

Hrdlička says Yaqui women formerly wore a blue *huipil* or sleeveless one-piece chemise of native weave not seen elsewhere in Sonora. Sashes were also worn. Ornaments were rings, earrings, and beads of silver and other metals (Hrdlička, 1904, pp. 60, 65.) The *huipil* is no longer seen. Velasco (1850, p. 74) says the boys went naked or wore a breechclout called sapeta, which was a piece of cloth passed between the legs with the ends tucked over a cord about the waist.

POTTERY

All Mayo pottery seen in process of manufacture was from a very sandy mesa-type soil used without temper except in the larger pieces. It was admittedly inferior and was compared unfavorably with the clay about Alamos. The soil is dug out and mixed with water and powdered dry horse or burro dung.[12] The dung is broken up with the fingers and pounded out with a stick until fine, then winnowed on hard clean ground by being dropped from the fingers (pl. 7, fig. 1). The coarser material is discarded. The clay is mixed and kneaded into the proper consistency and the small pebbles removed with the fingers. A cone of clay is made, its size depending on the vessel planned. The cone is held in the left hand and the base struck with the right fist until a considerable cavity is produced. The hand is then inserted in this cavity and the vessel is worked into shape by pressing and patting the clay between the two hands. Neither coiling nor hammer-and-anvil technique is used in forming the body of the vessel. A coil is usually added to the rim when the vessel is practically shaped. The vessel is then scraped with a bit of gourd, the pressure being opposed on the opposite side with the hand or a smooth pebble. The entire vessel is sometimes rubbed over with a pebble dipped frequently in water. The rim is smoothed with the hand dipped frequently in water or by being pinched and rubbed with a piece of rubber from an old inner tube. The coil is not added in making small vessels or plates. The latter are pressed out from a flat circular piece of clay.

Vessels such as *comales* or small ollas are usually placed, after the preliminary shaping, on a piece of broken pot or a wooden bowl, which facilitates turning for the final shaping and smoothing.

In making a large cooking vessel or water jar, the clay is tempered with fine black sand in addition to being mixed with horse dung. The base is made by the pounding out method described but the upper two-thirds are made by applying short thick coils of clay rolled out between the palms to about 1½ by 8 inches. Each coil is thoroughly worked into the body of the vessel and smoothed before the next coil is applied. Coils are applied below the working edge and smoothed in and upward with the scraping tools until the desired thinness is attained.

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[12] The Seri use burro or rabbit dung (Kroeber, 1931, p. 17).

No particular care is taken in drying, which is done in the hot sun. When partially dry, the outside receives a final scraping and polishing and the vessel is removed from the temporary base. If any slip is added it is simply a wash of red clay or earth imported from Alamos. Firing takes place in the open, usually within 24 hours. Pieces of broken pottery or stones are laid in a slight depression to hold the pottery away from the ashes and earth. Dry wood and sometimes dung is used and there is not a great deal of care to prevent smoking. Firing usually takes only a half hour except for large pieces. If the wind blows the fire too much, a screen of mats is set up.

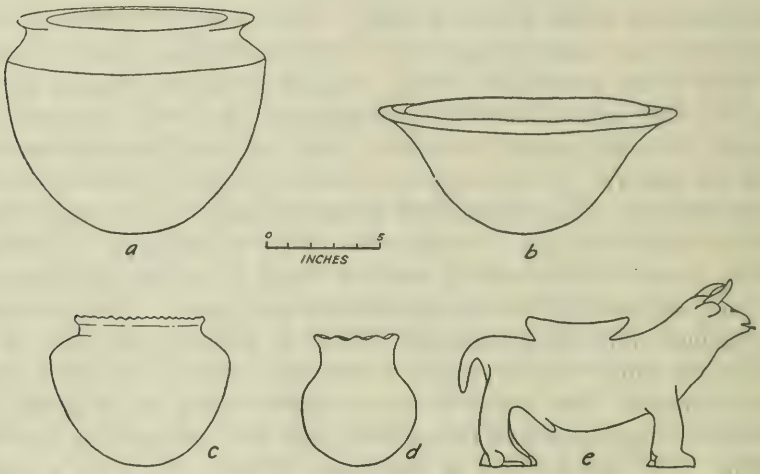

FIGURE 16.—Pottery among the Mayo. *a* and *b*, Utility shapes. *c* and *d*, Ornamental shapes. *e*, Pottery bull used for ceremonials. (Univ. Calif. Mus., Cat. 3, Nos. (*c*) 3290, (*d*) 3273, (*e*) 3361.)

When the burning is finished, the pottery is removed from the ashes with a stick while still hot. A sharp rap is given with a stick to determine from the sound whether the pot is adequately fired and the ashes are dusted off immediately with a cloth. The finer "show" pieces are not placed on the ground but are set in a fragment of broken pottery until cool (fig. 16, *a–d*).

Some of the named shapes are as follows:

tinajita (sp.), a small vessel with a small mouth. It was considered an ornamental form.
wakóra, the *comal*, a flat plate for cooking tortillas.
sótori, any large olla for water or for cooking.
purátos (platos?), small plate or bowl.
kahéte (cajete?), a straight-sided bowl.

The attitude toward pottery making is interesting. Usually only one or two women in each little community supply the wants of their neighbors. The widowed daughter of my principal informant on the subject, who was the potter of Chíbuku, had been at Alamos and had worked there in a pottery factory. She considered her mother very unskillful and the clay in the neighborhood good for nothing. She objected particularly to the smoking which occurred when her mother fired pottery. She assisted her mother with great reluctance and finally, before my departure from the region, had refused to do any of the work at all, a situation which I suspect was responsible for the fact that the daughter and her children shortly after moved away to stay with another widow in an even more miserable hovel than that of her parents.

It was impossible to find a potter working among the Yaqui. They use much less pottery than do the Mayo, probably because of their unstable political situation. The methods described to me are like those of the Mayo except that the clay is soaked several days in the river. Clay for colored slips is from a hill (sátakáwi) near the Mayo River. Only the usual phonetic shifts distinguish Yaqui terms from Mayo: sôto'im (large ollas), wakóim (*comales*), aiyupu·átim (plates for fiestas).[13]

SKIN DRESSING

Present methods of skin dressing are extremely crude and probably do not measure up to aboriginal standards except in the few cases where European techniques are used. For the latter, oak bark is imported from the hills. The present most common method of curing skins is simply to stake the hide out flat, scrape it rather carelessly, and cover it with wood ashes. A day in the hot sun is usually sufficient to dry it, and it is then hung up, stiff and unusable, to be sold to some traveling trader. There is no historical evidence of aboriginal tanning or curing methods.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

The musical bow is played as an entertainment. It is an instrument made of a long piece of reed (about 3 to 3½ feet) with the section walls bored through and one side cut down until holes are made into the interior hollow stem at intervals. Near one end a peg is run through the cane and the string is stretched from the peg to the opposite end of the reed. The latter end is held in the open mouth and the string plucked gently with the left hand. The plane of the instrument is horizontal and the string is away from the mouth. The music produced is inaudible a few yards from the player. Tone is changed by varying the mouth opening. The only one actually seen in use was played by an old man during the siesta period (Beals, 1943, pl. 3). The only name secured was *arpita* (little harp) or báka ápa (cane harp). It was once more common than now.

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[13] Modeled effigy pottery is illustrated in the Yaqui number of Mexican Folkways (1937, p. 45). I never saw or heard of such pottery and suspect it is either recent or possibly imported. On the other hand, there is some modeling of animal figures.

Aside from the flute used in the pascola dances (described below), a much shorter specimen of the same construction was secured (pl. 7, fig. 2). It was said to be used to start, stop, and accompany the songs called *las llamadas.* No further information could be collected about these songs.

Instruments used in the religious dances are the violin, harp, notched stick, gourd rattle, disk rattle, cocoon rattle, rattle belts, double-headed drum, and gourd water drum. The violin (laben) is a close copy of European models. The harp (*arpa*) is evidently from some early Spanish form and has survived with little change. Olson (1931, p. 16) illustrates a harp from Peru that is almost identical with the Cáhita harps. The principal woods used at present are cottonwood and ironwood, the latter for parts bearing strain or wear (pl. 10, figs. 1, 2). The violin illustrated is from the University of California Museum collection and was made by a blind man (pl. 10, fig. 2).

The drum (*tambor*) is a shallow double-headed instrument about 3½ inches deep and from 14 to 16 inches in diameter. The heads are of sheepskin from which the hair has been scraped and are sewn to two wooden rings drawn together with baling wire. The body of the drum is of one or two thin strips of wood bent to form a circle and perforated by one or more holes about one-half inch in diameter (Beals, 1943, fig. 5, *f*). The heads are tightened by being warmed over a pile of coals. It is played by a single stick in the right hand but the drummer often uses two or three different types of sticks of various weights and with different sized heads according to the effect he wishes (pl. 7, fig. 2). The war drum is slightly larger and is played with two sticks. A much deeper drum of smaller diameter obviously is made on the Mexican model and is played with two sticks by a different drummer. It is used only in certain religious processions.

The flute (bakakúsia, cane flute) or pásko kúsia (pascola flute) is held in the drummer's left hand while played. It is made of cane in two sections which fit into one another. The upper section is a simple whistle with a piece of cane inserted in the mouth-piece but it is too thick and too firmly fixed to vibrate. Near the lower section are three stops, two above and one below. The music played is monotonous and plaintive (Beals, 1943, fig. 5, *c*). Flute and drum are played together only for pascola dances.

The notched rasping sticks (hirúkia, máso hirúkiam) are in sets of three, each stick with a different interval between the notches. One end rests on an inverted half gourd placed on the ground (pl. 17, fig. 2). Every specimen seen had carved on it some conventionalized form of cross. The gourd resonators (buéham, *bule*) were undecorated.

The gourd water drum (bosipóna) is a half gourd floated in a wooden bowl or tub of water set in the ground. The open side of the gourd is placed downward in the water and the upper part is beaten in time to the rasping sticks. The beater is made of *maguey* fiber wound around a slender stick to a thickness of about three-fourths of an inch (pl. 7, fig. 2). A weird low "chug," which can be heard a surprising distance, is produced. Two gourd specimens secured were decorated with scorpions which had been scratched in while the gourd was green (Beals, 1943, fig. 5, *a*). This was the only example of such decoration found. The gourd drum and the rasping stick are used only for the deer dance.

Another type of drum, which I secured but never saw in use, was a variant of the gourd water drum. It is said to be played for the Mayo coyote dance. It is a flattish gourd with the top cut away, leaving a hole about 4 inches in diameter and was to be suspended in water by a leather thong tied to a horizontal stick inside the gourd. The drum stick is wrapped with leather (pl. 7, fig. 2).

Gourd rattles are usually well made and are of Pueblo type. A stick is thrust through the gourd and a thin wooden disk glued over the outer end, usually with mesquite gum (Beals, 1943, fig. 5, *b*). Other types of rattles are so intimately associated with the dancers that they are described in connection with their costume (p. 119 et seq.).

Musicians are usually men, but at Makochin I saw a woman playing the harp.

Granville (1899, p. 93) mentions a cedar-wood guitar with an armadillo-shell back for the Yaqui, and also a harp carved with fishes.

TRANSPORTATION AND TRAVEL

The Yaqui and Mayo follow sixteenth-century Spanish patterns in transportation rather than any aboriginal modes. Horses, mules, and especially burros are used to carry goods, not man power. Wagons are rare, although many Yaqui have acquired them recently through government aid. Only in water carrying does the aboriginal shoulder yoke survive; then oil cans are suspended from the ends of a stick carried on the shoulder, a substitute for the aboriginal nets and ollas. Occasionally one may see a load of furniture or two clusters of chickens attached to the ends of such a yoke, but not often. Travel, however, is mainly on foot even though the burdens may be borne by beasts.

Water travel is unimportant. Most of the year the rivers may be forded on foot, and their winding courses do not encourage travel along them. The flat-bottom barges (*pangos*) used to ferry automobiles are all manned by Indians, however, and the fishermen on the coasts make dug-out canoes, usually of cottonwood logs.

The crutch paddle was observed on the upper Sinaloa River, at Playa San Ignacio, and on the Yaqui River.

GAMES

The most popular contemporary game is Nine Men's Morris. It is also played by Mexicans in the vicinity, but I do not know of it from elsewhere in Mexico. The history of how this "pure English" game became established here would be entertaining, but I have no suggestions (Week End Book, 1924, p. 244). The Yaqui play the game of *Coyote y Gallinas* (coyote and chickens). Bets are sometimes made on both these games.

Top fighting and top spinning are common among boys and young men. Tops are made of sitabáru wood. "Sitabáru trómpon teyáne" means "let us get sitabáru to make tops."

Téha is a game resembling horseshoes. Two holes are dug about 20 feet apart and the players pitch stones to see who can come closest. Mexicans also play this game.

A game formerly much played but abandoned in recent years recalls the Southwestern stick or ball race. Bets were made in money or goods. The bets were in charge of a judge and there were 6 witnesses (*testigos*) for each side. The number of players on a side was 12. Each player carried a stick about 1 meter in length to which was attached a large shell. The players on each side stood at the start in a file while each of the two leaders threw a ball with his stick. The course was 2 to 4 kilometers in length to a point and return, usually on a road leading out of the village. The side first to return its ball into a small hole at the starting point won. Its Spanish name was *palillo*. The sticks were called kuta bateyim teyeunaki. The word "batey" apparently refers to the older ball game court (Beals, 1943, p. 35, fig. 6).

I was informed by Mexicans on the Fuerte River that the kicking ball race, there called *gomi*, a widespread Spanish (?) term, is still occasionally played. Shinny is also played with a crooked stick for each player, one ball, and two goals.

In the National Museum in Mexico City are specimens of stick dice for a modern form of "*quince*" credited to the Ocoroni (pl. 12, fig. 1). I did not learn of the game among the modern Mayo or Yaqui.

TOBACCO AND SMOKING

Today smoking is largely social. Mexican cigarettes of the cheaper varieties are much used, although Indians are not heavy smokers. Some native tobacco (makúco, ví·vam) is also smoked in corn-husk wrappers, although its principal use is in Mayo fiestas. The Yaqui still do not permit young people to smoke, at least in the presence of their elders. Giving tobacco has a compulsive quality, as among the Pueblos. It is given to pascola dancers and musicians as part of the bargain to appear (Parsons, 1929, p. 254). Smoking is still used ritually by wizards and curers. The coyotes are the owners of tobacco. A wild tobacco is called go'i bívam (coyote's tobacco) or bí·bam huyápo áwa'i bí·bam atéa (tobacco mountain coyote tobacco owner). This is used as a remedy for sicknesses of animals but is not smoked. It would "make one crazy."

In Spanish times, the Yaqui had a special concession to cultivate their own small-leaved makúco (spelled "macuci" by Velasco), which they rolled in large balls and wrapped in maize leaves for storage (Velasco, 1850, p. 79).

OCCUPATIONS

The current occupations of the Cáhita are primarily agricultural. They cultivate their own land or work for other farmers as laborers or farm mechanics and tractor operators. They also do much of the heavy manual work connected with the harvesting and shipping of agricultural products, loading beans, maize, rice, or *garbanzos* in cars, or storing them in warehouses. The Yaqui in particular have also been the mainstay of the larger *haciendas* and the mining industry.

In addition there are many minor occupations. The most important is wood cutting. Wood is the principal fuel of all classes, and Indians supply the towns, transporting the wood on burros. A few men are carpenters and others fishermen. Some make furniture. Others make horsehair belts and hat bands; yet others are masons, adobe-brick makers, or weavers of *maguey*-fiber products. Considerable numbers make mats and baskets. Relatively few now handle cattle, although in the past the Indians raised large numbers. Sheep and goats are generally kept but they can hardly be said to be raised; they simply are. I was told of some workers in gold and silver, but, although I saw specimens attributed to them, I saw no workers. Some blacksmithing was carried on formerly and perhaps still is. Among the articles collected is a hand-wrought steel for striking fire attributed to Indian workmanship. Hrdlička (1904, p. 65) reports the Yaqui as making rings, earrings, and beads of silver and "other metals."

Women do milking and dairy work if there are any cattle. They perform the usual household tasks, make most of the clothes, carry water, and give the few fowls and possible pig or two what attention they get. They also make blankets, hats, belts, and pottery.

It is noticeable that there is considerably more tendency for women to specialize in their occupations than men. Relatively few women know how to make pottery. The same women rarely make both hats and blankets. On the other hand, men usually have a serviceable smattering of all the occupations or parts of them. Carpentering, the weaving of *maguey*-fiber products, metalworking presumably, mat weaving, and furniture manufacture are rather limited specialties. Weavers in particular do little else. On the other hand a carpenter may turn mason for a while; he also makes most of his own tools; and he may be a fisherman during the season (making his own nets and canoe). These are specific cases observed. Practically any Indian knows how to weave a saddle girth, make a saddle blanket or pad, spin a professional-appearing *maguey*-fiber rope, make a stool, carve a wooden bowl, build a house, or weave a basket or mat.

Many of these occupations, particularly those of the men, are stopgaps to fill in leisure time when they are not actively engaged in agricultural pursuits. They are usually followed as professions only by those who have no land to cultivate. Even these "professionals" would usually prefer, lacking land of their own, to have steady employment as laborers on large *haciendas.* The outstanding thing is perhaps that the culture is not nearly as specialized as that of the Mexicans. The Indian is much less dependent on the store for his wants. The stock of the little store in the Indian village contains little more than bolts of cloth, needles, thread, lime, salt, coffee, sugar, beef fat, kerosene, cigarettes, candles, fireworks, perhaps a kerosene flare or two, and sometimes mats, baskets, or pottery. Occasionally a little fruit or sausage bought from some traveling trader will be carried temporarily, and it is considered necessary to carry an emergency stock of a few beans, garbanzos, and a little maize.

A few other occupations should be mentioned. The fireworks maker is perhaps the nearest to a true specialist among the Indians. He makes the *cahuetes* or skyrockets used in every ceremony, and also the large set pieces (*castillos*) used at the large fiestas. Nevertheless, he often has his field to cultivate, although the household is usually large enough to permit him to devote all his time to an important work like a *castillo*, which may require a month to make. For a *castillo* he is paid in advance all but 5 pesos, and if the *castillo* is satisfactory he is given the balance immediately. The dancers and musicians are also specialists who make much of their living from the fiestas or special events at which they are called upon to perform. They make their own costumes and accessories as a rule, though the pascola masks are usually made by only a few. But they also have fields to cultivate or weave mats or baskets between engagements. The wizards and doctors are probably specialists of the same order as the musicians and dancers.

STAR LORE; ECLIPSES

The Cáhita seem to have very little interest in or knowledge of the stars in view of their reputed aboriginal sun and moon worship. There is no use of stars to mark the season. For a summary of the information obtained, see Beals (1943, p. 38.) The moon is considered female, the sun male. The face in the moon is considered a woman's face by the Mayo, a cottonwood tree by the Yaqui. Planting, harvesting, wood cutting, and the castration of animals are done in the waning phase of the moon. "Metákyu·tu etneáte," they say when the moon is old and it is time to sow. A big flood is foretold by many stars falling in the middle of the night like rain (Mayo).

When lunar eclipses occur, the Mayo believe a pregnant woman must not stay lying down or the moon will eat the child. She is awakened and makes three antisunrise circuits of the house outside; otherwise the child will be born with some part missing. Water is thrown out of a jar three times as if making a cross—bá'am wátia hurúspo (water throwing cross). Drums, pots, and other objects are beaten. It is believed variously that the moon is going to sleep and that it is fighting with the sun.

The Yaqui call a lunar eclipse tá'a mála mécha mu (sun moon kills) and consider it a serious event. Despite the name, the informant who gave it insisted eclipses were caused by the earth and moon fighting rather than the sun. Drums, old pails, and wash tubs are beaten and everyone shouts. *Cahuetes* are fired. Water is put in a plate at the bottom of the house cross, and branches and trash are burned. A pregnant woman does not leave her house.

For solar eclipses the Mayo cry out, ring the church bells, rattle pieces of iron, fire *cahuetes*, and pray in the houses. They burn trash "for light."

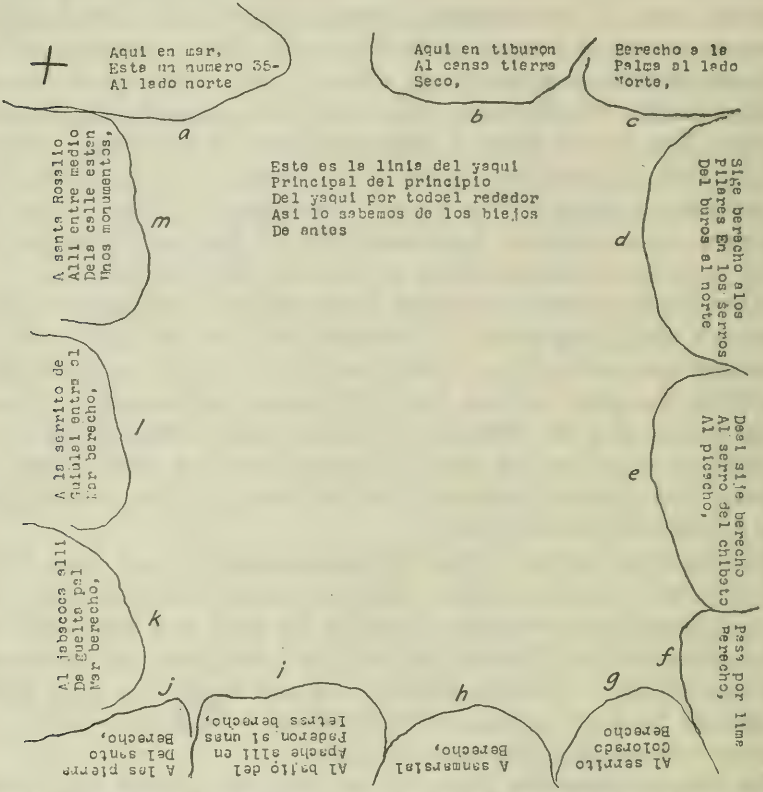
The Yaqui do the same as for a lunar eclipse except that a candle is burned by the house cross instead of water being placed there. *Cahuetes* are fired and burning coals or fire are thrown at the sun. Everyone goes to church to pray. "Múkukutá·'a (the sun is dying)," they say, and also that "the world wishes to end." Sickness is supposed to come from an eclipse.

No belief about comets was recorded.

EXTERNAL RELATIONS AND GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE

The Yaqui have much more knowledge of other peoples and a wider acquaintance of the geography of northwestern Mexico than do the Mayo, for which their greater mobility is probably responsible. Both tribes call themselves yoreme (persons); a white is called yóri (valiant, dangerous); while other Indians are called by their tribal name in Spanish. Both peoples know the Tarahumara as taraumánim. Most

Yaqui know the Pima Bajo, Seri, Waicuri, and Opata; many know the Pima Alta, Papago, and Apache, while one of my informants had


Aqui en mar,
Este un numero 35-
Al lado norte
Aqui en tiburon
Al censo tierra
Seco,
Berecho a la
Palma al lado
Norte,
Este es la linia del yaqui
Principal del principio
Del yaqui por todoel rededor
Asi lo sabemos de los biejos
De antes
A santa Rosalio
Alli entre medio
Dela calle esten
Unos monumentos,
Sige berecho alos
Pilares En los serros
Del buros al norte
A la serrito de
Guiulai entra al
Mar berecho,
Deel sije berecho
Al serro del chibato
Al picacho,
Al jabacoca alli
De guelta pal
Mar berecho,
Pasa por lime
Berecho,
A los pierre
Del santo
Berecho,
Al bajio del
Apache alli un
Paderon, si unas
letras berecho,
A sanmarsial
Berecho,
Al serrito
Colorado
Berecho
a
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k
l
m

Figure 17.—Map of Yaqui territory prepared by the Secretary of Pascua, Ariz., with the approval of a group of older men. Beginning at the upper left-hand corner and reading to the right around the map, the wording translates roughly as follows (the Spanish is very poor): *a*, Here in the sea is a number 35. On the north side. *b*, Here on Tiburon it reaches dry land. *c*, Straight to La Palma on the north side. *d*, Continue direct to Los Pilares in the mountains of the Burros (Cerro de los Burros) to the north. *e*, From there continue direct to the mountain of Chibato to the sharp peak. *f*, Continue in a straight line. *g*, To the little red mountain, straight. *h*, To San Marcial, straight. *i*, To the flat of the Apaches. There is a stone with some letters, straight. *j*, Direct to the Sierra of the Saint. *k*, To Jabacoca. There turn directly toward the sea. *l*, To the little hill of Guiulai, enter the sea directly. *m*. To Santa Rosalia. There in the middle of the street are some monuments. The center wording says (approximately): "This is the limit (or line) of the Yaqui. The major portion of the principality of the Yaqui for all the boundary. Thus we know it from the ancients of former times."

visited most of the Pueblos. The Yuma, Maricopa, Navaho, Yavapai, and others seem unknown to them. The only names I could secure for the tribes known are those given. Apparently, they had actual contact with the Apache some time ago, as one old man at Pascua village near Tucson, Ariz., had been a captive in his youth.

The Yaqui have their claimed tribal territory marked out by boundary monuments of piles of stones about 8 feet square and 8 feet high. This apparently dates from the time of Benito Juarez and is not ancient. Informants stated that a treaty was signed at that time giving the limits marked out. The claims include more than the aboriginal territory. The line runs from somewhat south of Tiburon Island, across the Gulf of California to near Santa Rosalia, taking in a small sector of land in Baja California "bordering the Waicuri," thence back to the mainland to a double-peaked mountain south of Ciudad Obregón, thence east of the mountains east of that city, east of Cumuripas, then to the starting point, passing only a little south of Hermosillo. A map was drawn to illustrate this (fig. 17).

Practically every point in Cáhita territory has its name. Many of these have been Hispanicized. No effort was made to secure a complete list of names, owing to the vast number and extent of territory covered. For a list of Mayo place names, see Beals (1943, p. 34).

HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE

There is very little knowledge of historical events other than those occurring in the lifetime of the informants. Some confused accounts are discussed under Warfare. An elderly informant said her grandparents spoke of the time the stars fell (the meteoric shower of 1833), but she was more impressed by a story they had told of the sun disappearing shortly after rising and not reappearing until just before it set. It was dark all day. The trees were wreathed with snakes, and women's long hair turned into snakes. Many died of fright. It is hard to conceive of any historical basis for this and it casts doubt on the story of falling stars.

The Cáhita believe they have always inhabited their present location although earlier accounts indicate a tradition of migration from the north, particularly for the Ahome (Orozco y Bera, 1864, p. 331).

Although settlers were rare in Mayo territories until within the last 50 or 60 years (except in Navojoa, where a considerable Mexican colony existed earlier), there are memories of French settlers living on the lower river, particularly at Santa Cruz, Huperi, and Echojoa. These settlers married into the tribe extensively and are said to account for the many blonds found among the Mayo today.

TRADE AND WEALTH

Modern trade differs little from that of the similar classes of the Mexican population. Dwellers in remote places may barter with traveling traders—a cheese for a piece of cloth or some coffee or the like—

but mostly the products are sold for cash and the needed supplies bought. Wealth concepts differ little from Mexican ideas; land, cattle, and silver form the standards of judgment.

WARFARE

The only data on modern warfare are from the Yaqui. The Mayo, aside from their participation in Mexican revolutionary movements, have waged no independent warfare for many decades. The Yaqui, on the other hand, have developed a method of attack and dispersal with reassemblage at stated dates and places which has been admirably adapted to the nature of the country and the forces against them. It has enabled them time and again to wipe out Mexican forces with little loss and to vanish before superior forces could come up to them. These are essentially the methods of guerilla warfare in a country offering abundant hiding places. Through them, particularly under Cajeme, the Yaquis withstood vastly superior forces over a considerable period of time, even though many of the Indians were armed only with bows and arrows and slings.

The success of this type of fighting has depended on the fact that most of the country is heavily brushed, making cavalry tactics impossible and reducing visibility often to a dozen yards. Available nearby are also the rugged hiding places of the Sierra de Bacatete. The success of this warfare was ended in the 1920's by the airplane, which took away the advantage of concealment in the brush, and by roads, motortrucks, and radio, which enabled the Mexicans to keep constantly in touch with the Indian forces and to keep them continuously on the move. Instead of pursuing with tired cavalry which was rarely able to come to grips with the Indians even when their trail was located, fresh infantry was brought by truck to each new Yaqui hiding place.

Little is remembered about Mayo warfare. Informants knew of a war drum different from the other drums. The term kápita (Spanish *capitan*) is recalled as the name of an old-time official long vanished. Probably a war organization similar to that of the Yaqui once flourished. A *cuartel* is also mentioned at Bacobampo where the war drum was beaten and from whence the Indians went on raids against the mines at Alamos.

The following tales recall some history of the wars in which the Mayo were involved in the Republican period: Juan Leba, a Yaqui, had forts at Watachive and Añil to the north, where he fought and defeated the forces of the Government. The pueblos of Echojoa, Huperi, and Santa Cruz were with Yaquis. After that, the *Nacionales* of Navojoa were formed by the Mexican residents and, with the Government forces, defeated the Yaquis and Juan Leba.

On another occasion, the Indians attacked Navojoa and were defeated by much smaller forces, who were aided by San Juan and miraculous soldiers.

One informant was 9 years old when Cajeme, the famous Yaqui leader, fought against the Mexicans under Ortiz at Capetimayo and attacked Navojoa. The Mayos of Cohuirimpo and below were with Cajeme. Under Ortiz much Indian land was seized. At about this time, the Indians from down river attacked and took Navojoa for a short time, until the ranchers came to the rescue and drove them out. When the Indians fled, the Mexicans killed many of those about Navojoa who were innocent of any part in the attack, until a Mexican general came with regular soldiers and stopped them, telling them they would have no servants and workmen nor anyone to sell their goods to if they killed all the Indians.

Modern Yaqui warfare centers about a military organization. This organization probably should be considered as a society. It includes every male in the tribe over the age of adolescence and in this respect differs from the other societies which exist in the tribe. Otherwise it seems very similar. It may possibly be viewed as a tribal society for men, and its initiation as a tribal initiation into adult status. At about 14 or 15, a boy becomes a member of the cavalry. One informant stated no ceremony occurs until a rank is taken. Others said the boy is taken to the church by his "war" godparents, the soldiers forming two lines on either side. He had already been taught the prayers of the soldiers, and he prays before the altar. His parents are present, and the boy is lectured on the responsibilities he will have and the parents are told not to weep if he is killed doing his duty.

When he becomes older and is either married or has incurred obligations which make service in the cavalry onerous, he notifies the war captain, and he is then enrolled in the infantry. The infantry is composed of "strong men." Its function is to guard the villages, while the cavalry does the errands, hunts criminals, investigates crimes, and patrols the boundaries.

The common soldier may later become an officer or official of the troop. His position is for life unless he is removed or promoted. He may advance in grade as high as wikoiyáut (bow chief or war captain). In addition he may also be a member of the matachin dance society or the clown society or both. The officials are named and promoted by the war or bow chiefs, but advancement to the status of war chief is by the voice of the whole troop.

The oldest war captain (yaut, or baméla kápita) commands all, but he may be superseded for old age or other reasons. When a new captain is to be chosen, an assembly of the people is called in a ramada outside the church (or the *cuartel*?). Candidates for advanced office are probably named by various officials, including the *principales*. Before about 1900, they would have been chosen by the susuákame or elders. The candidate is taken by the officials into the church and his parents are summoned. One of the captains tells him what his duties will be. His parents are told that if he is killed in the woods and the animals eat him, they must not weep. If he still agrees to accept the charge, the coyote headdress is placed on him. He is taken to the *cuartel* and placed in charge of it, and told his duties there and on Sundays. He is also given two soldiers who work for him and tend his fields. He is obligated to care for these men and their families.

The war officials are headed by the yaúcim, or war captains. Then follow in descending order the lieutenants, sergeants, corporals, alpéz (*alférez*), and two drummers. All these officials are called wikoiyáut (bow chiefs, or officers of the troop). All have insignia of rank which they wear when on service and in the church. This is a red cloth band worn around the head, about 3 inches wide and ornamented with pearl buttons or pearl shell. That of the captain has three horizontal lines of shells or buttons with others scattered at random between them, a large abalone shell pendant over the forehead, and feathers sewn loosely about the band. A coyote skin stretches from the front over the top of the head and down the back, the tail reaching the waist. Horizontal rows of hawk feathers (kóti) are sewn at intervals along its length, and in front is worn an upright parrot feather about 8 inches long and sometimes tufts of small parrot feathers. The captain carries a bow and quiver in all ceremonies.

The lieutenant has two rows of buttons horizontally on his band and scattered buttons between. The sergeant has a zigzag pattern horizontally about his band with a star in each angle. The corporal has the same without stars. These all wear parrot and hawk feathers. The drummers and the alpéz have only scattered buttons without design.

Some of the officers head the cavalry, although the latter have no drummer or alpéz or banner of their own. The officers of the cavalry are subordinate to those of the infantry of equal rank. At assemblies, the latter remain seated, the former do those things which require moving about. The number of officials seems to vary according to the available good material.

A boy may also be dedicated to a position by his parents. Such a boy is carefully observed and trained, eventually being given a position in accordance with his intelligence and abilities. In Belen (Pitahaya) two rather young boys were observed wearing the war captain's headdress.

The cavalry of the four up-river towns and the four down-river towns unites in two groups about every 3 or 4 weeks. Those from up river patrol the boundaries and report on the state of the territory in the up-river part of the country. Those from the lower pueblos patrol the lower-river territory. A corporal or sergeant is usually appointed to command each party.

The idea of "declaring war," or deciding on war, seemed rather foreign to the informants. They felt that they never declared war; the Mexicans started it, and they defended themselves. However, it seems that a tribal assembly is necessary to determine on a war policy, although other informants said that the war captains can determine on war and command all things in time of war. But a peace could not be made by them alone; the kobaná'us and war captains jointly determine that, although again a tribal assembly is probably necessary to be binding on the entire tribe.

The functions of the war officials seem mainly connected with war. They have little or no authority in the functioning of the church, although they play an important part in it; nor do they have any authority over the *principales*, who, from the statement that as a rule after their term of office they again become soldiers, are evidently not considered to be soldiers during their term in civil office.

In war time, the authority of the war captains is evidently paramount, despite the statements of the preceding paragraph. One war captain looks after the old men and the women and children during war. The písca and the *temastianes* (church officials) assemble the children and take them to the church to pray when there is war.

The order of battle is: The alpéz with the banner, drummer, war captain, lieutenant, sergeants, soldiers, and corporals. In battle the infantry goes ahead, the calvary behind. The alpéz is a particularly interesting figure. He plants the banner in advance when battle is joined and he may not retreat or remove the banner even though abandoned by his fellows, until the commanding officer gives the order for all to retreat. The idea of abandonment, however, seemed humorous to my informants, who said no one would retreat without an order. But *if* they did, informants said the alpéz would have to stay. Furthermore, the alpéz is picked as a man of unusual courage because he must take the most exposed position. He also is a man of keen eyesight and a good shot. The drummer's position is even more dangerous, but he does not have the "no retreat" obligation. All orders are passed on through drum signals. For this reason the drummer is apt to be killed, and it is customary to have two drummers on a party, although anyone will pick up the drum and give the necessary signals in emergencies. On the march, the drum beats constantly and the alpéz and drummer command. Even a party of five or six has its alpéz and drummer. The march continues unless the drum stops beating.

When traveling through the brush in skirmish formation, a drum is tapped at each end of the line to keep it in formation. Within Yaqui territory, the cavalry travel quite as often on foot as on horseback. Some use is also made of bugle signals.

The modern Yaqui attitude toward their own wounded is interesting. Don G., a German-American who in the past has had occasion to fight with Yaqui troops, maintains that they have no regard for their own wounded. A man is a fool to be injured and even though mortally wounded would be laughed and jeered at. There is some effort to prevent wounded falling into the hands of the enemy and to remove the dead in order to prevent torture and mutilation. Both sides in the Yaqui conflicts have indulged not only in mutilation of the dead but in barbarities to prisoners which are not to be exceeded in accounts of Indian or European warfare anywhere. Aboriginally, torture does not seem to have been practiced by any of the Cáhita.

During peace times, the soldiers serve in the *guardia* or *cuartel* in shifts of 1 week. A war captain must always be present or leave an assistant in his place. Constantly on duty is a lieutenant, a sergeant, a corporal, and two or three soldiers. (At Pótan, a third of the soldiers are on duty all the time.) The *guardia* is often a ramada, open in front and along most of the two sides, the remainder being walled. Benches to seat the entire troop are placed inside. The *guardia* may at times be brick or adobe, as is the old *guardia* at Vicam Station now used by the Mexican officers of the Indian companies.

The soldiers sound the drum three times a day, at dawn, at noon, and at sundown. The manner of playing is quite complicated. The alpéz and one or two drummers stand facing east (west at sundown or after dark when the performance is made during a fiesta in the night). The right-hand drummer starts playing, bends his right knee, lifting his left foot backward, steps forward, does a half turn and faces west, bends his knee, does a three-quarters turn and faces north, bends his knee, steps forward and faces south, bends the knee again, and resumes his first position. The drum is rolled continuously. The alpéz follows one step behind the drummer, making the sign of the cross with the banner as he bends his knee. The second drummer follows the alpéz. The entire performance is done five or six times. At times the banner is not involved and there is only a drummer, frequently a young boy, who performs the ceremony. When the drum sounds in the morning, people say the *alba;* at night, the *Ave Maria.*

The drum used is slightly larger than the pascola drum and is played with two sticks in alternating light and heavy beats. A tremendous volume of sound which can be heard a mile or more is produced.

The religious and civil functions of the soldiers have assumed a new importance at present because the Mexican Government has enrolled the troops of the different villages as irregular soldiers, and pays them. This is a way of bribing the tribe into keeping peace. Now the kobaná'u of the different villages levy an assessment each payday (each 10 days) of from 50 centavos to one peso to be used to finance the *fiestas*, keep a reserve for emergencies (such as paying for the *fiestas* for the dead), and to pay claims against the tribe. If robberies of "foreigners" (including Mexicans) occur in the territory of the village, the culprits are fined to make restitution if they can be identified. If not, restitution is made out of the village funds by the war captain, on order of the kobaná'u, who only issues the order after conference with the *principales*. Funds are kept in a locked chest in the *guardia*. Before the government began to pay the soldiers, levies of food were made. When the old brick *guardia* at Vicam Station was the *guardia* of the tribe, it was frequently stored full of food.

In addition to supporting all the activities of the tribe, the soldiers dance the coyote dance at certain fiestas and ceremonial occasions. If the dancing is only for a short time in the church, as for Easter, the captains alone dance. In all processions in connection with Christ and the Virgin, the Christ is accompanied by the war captains, the Virgin by a soldier on either side. The remainder of the soldiers march on each side of the procession in single file, the cavalry on one side, the infantry on the other.

The fiestas of Guadalupe, Santa Isabel, and Santa Cruz are considered to be fiestas of the soldiers. In war time they are said to be under the protection of Guadalupe and Santa Isabel. No trace of morning star or moon connections with the soldiers could be secured. It is possibly significant that the Virgin of Guadalupe is pictured standing on the moon. The chapel at Pitahaya has a wall above and behind the altar decorated with a gold moon and gold stars.[14]

Interesting is the survival of the feeling that the people of the four down-river pueblos are more bellicose than those of the four up-river pueblos, a sentiment of pre-Spanish origin.

Twenty years ago, the Indians who joined the revolution on the Fuerte River wore masks made by splitting an oxtail and letting the tail hang from the chin, the cheeks being covered. Many joined Pancho Villa during his stay in Sonora.

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF LIFE

BIRTH OBSERVANCES[15]

Among the Mayo, birth occurs in the dwelling house. The mother is assisted by a neighbor or a professional midwife, who is paid 5 to 10 pesos. A professional is called paltéra or *partera* or hámut ánia asoámta, "woman helping child receiving." She has a male helper, the *tenedor*, or holder (áu wíkapabwíse hiépsipu kútia, "man holding by middle very tight": this etymology is a bit obscure; "hiépsipu" would seem to refer in some way to life or heart). He is paid about 4 pesos. A curer is never called in. Although the *tenedor* may also be a curer he never exercises the latter capacity. San Ramón is said to be "good" for the midwife, but I could secure no evidence of special practices in connection with the Saint.

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[14] Cf. the stars on the wall for the Hlewekwe fraternity, Zuñi (Stevenson, 1904, pl. 58).

[15] I am particularly indebted to Dr. Parsons for securing many of the more personal details of Mayo childbirth.

The woman is usually seated on the ground at birth, although a kneeling position is sometimes assumed. The *partera* (midwife) is in front, while the *tenedor* holds the woman about the belly from behind and applies pressure.[16] If the birth is difficult, the woman may be suspended from a beam by a loop of rope under the arms or may be even raised and dropped with a jerk in this rope loop. This is said often to be fatal.

The child is received on a sheepskin. The midwife cleans the baby's mouth, cuts the cord, burns it with a candle, applies salad oil to the navel, and sulphur to the cord. In 3 days the cord drops off and the navel is dressed again with oil and sulphur. The cord is buried in a red-ant hill. The afterbirth and blood-stained cloths are buried in a hole about 3 feet down and covered with hot ashes to keep dogs away. If dogs ate the afterbirth, the mother would have belly pains.

The mother is put into bed and covered well. Formerly, she was confined 45 days (others say 40 days); 9 days, a period corresponding to Mexican practice, is now common, according to some. She is fed atole, broiled meat, broth from bones, white bread, parched corn, and pinole. After 5 days, earth or ashes are placed on her face as a protection from the wind, and she may go to the kitchen. (The ashes raise a suspicion that the face protection may be against witchcraft.) At the fortieth day she bathes, bathing 3 days in succession. She then sleeps with her husband and "begins another child." After completing the "diet," she goes to Mass at church. There is no belief in impregnation through sleeping in the sun or moonlight.

After the birth, the father is under no dietetic or other restrictions. He is congratulated by his friends and neighbors but continues his work. The child is visited by everyone soon after birth. If a girl, the men formerly would kiss its hand; if a boy, the women.

There is no rule of sexual abstinence during pregnancy. A man may continue sleeping with his wife or he may get another woman. There are no taboos during pregnancy for either mother or father. The mother may butcher or use a knife, but if she works much in the field or is in the sun a great deal, the child may have eye sickness. "Eye of mesquite" is a remedy for this.

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[16] At Sia the male helper is before, the female behind (Stevenson, 1894, p. 135).

After lactation begins, the mother eats mostly maize rather than wheat. Maize "has butter in it" and for this reason the Indian mother, unlike the Mexican, "always has milk."

There are no witchcraft beliefs connected with confinement, but if a menstruating woman or a man or woman fresh from sexual intercourse comes near a newborn child it will break out with black spots and die. There is no use of corn ears or fire pokers to protect the infant.

Some say that in winter a child is wiped off and wrapped up and not bathed until San Juan's Day, June 24.

The callings of *partera* and *tenedor* are taught in the family. In one case noted, a woman is a *partera* while her husband is both a *tenedor* and a hitolᵉro, or curer.

Yaqui practices are similar, although my information is not quite so full. After the birth, a woman must eat only atole and dried cow meat (not bull meat) for 2 to 4 weeks. The father must not work for 2 or 3 days following or the child will die, but there are no dietetic restrictions for him. The umbilical cord is cut with a pair of scissors, leaving enough to tie. The end is burned with a candle flame. The portion of the cord cut off is put in a can or receptacle and hidden in an *echo* cactus or other plant. The remainder of the cord drops off in about 15 days (sic) and by some is placed in a red-ant nest. The baby is bathed in warm water at birth and the afterbirth (ásoakaráli) is buried or put in a bush or cactus.

CARE AND REARING OF CHILDREN

INFANCY

Children usually are nursed until about the age of 2, although occasionally one may see a child as old as 5 receiving the breast. After being weaned, children receive the same food as adults. Immediately after birth the child is given a tea of *manzanillo* to "clear it." Another woman nurses the child for 3 days. A 7-months' baby was fed water of *manzanillo* and another woman milked her breasts into its mouth until it could nurse.

Infants usually are swaddled rather completely. When old enough to walk, the males frequently are naked, particularly in outlying villages, but this custom is rapidly disappearing. Formerly, females also were naked. Usually infants are kept in a cradle resembling an open-topped crate made of sticks and slung by ropes from the roof beams. More rarely, an improvised hammock is made of two ropes held apart by sticks with a blanket wrapped and pinned about them. Until recently, the Yaqui used a cradleboard of cane splints with a cloth hood on a hoop at the top (Hrdlička, 1904, p. 73). Small children either are carried on the hip, slung in a rebozo tied over the opposite shoulder, or carried in the arms.

If the child's development is slow, remedies may be used. For slow teething, rattlesnake teeth strung on a string are hung about the child's neck. If backward in walking, the child is made to sit on sheep dung for an hour. *Mescal* is put on a child's gums to make it speak soon. At 3 months it is supposed to say "ma·kú"; at 8 months (sic) it is supposed to talk.

When a child is older, the Yaqui may punish it for misdemeanors, saying, "túsa bépsune páke kaintúna anéa (now don't do that other thing (bad))." When the war drum sounds in the evening, Yaqui children should say the *Ave Maria*. In the afternoon, if they enter a house where older people are present they should say, "Praise be to God."

Twins (wowári ásua hunámut, "twins she bears woman") are believed sent by God, but receive no special treatment. A woman who bore triplets, "*Tres Marias*," considered them devils, however, and died of fright in 8 days, a punishment by God.

Illegitimate children (cuki panuuka, "trash they seize") formerly were put into springs or tanks before baptism where they were eaten by the horned water serpents. At present they receive the name of their mother, or, if she is a widow, the name of her deceased husband. No effort is made to ascertain paternity. It is claimed that abortion is now practiced only by the Mexicans, but this was not always the case. It is believed by the Indians that the priest makes Mexican girls who confess to abortion or infanticide beg alms at night from house to house and eat straw and earth taken from the graveyard at night, the penance lasting for some months.

EDUCATION AND PASTIMES

The treatment of children is much the same as among Mexicans. Children are rarely punished and receive a great deal of what we would call spoiling. (For formal punishments, see p. 85.) As a general thing, parents are very fond of their children. Nowadays a large percentage of the children are receiving formal primary school education, available up to the fourth or sixth grade. Nevertheless, much of their important education comes from their own family. It is in no way forced. The children are with the adults of the household a great deal and do not play much with other children except those of families dwelling close by. They early start to imitate the actions of their elders. Girls soon spin thread, begin to use the metate, and so on, but there is little compulsion until they are old enough to be assigned tasks. Small girls often make crude dolls. The young daughter of a pottery maker made some crude but passable clay models of animals with which she was familiar, as well as of miniature vessels. This was interesting because more or less spontaneous, although she had undoubtedly seen pottery figurines from other districts in town. Boys accompany their fathers at an early age and are encouraged but not forced to assist. By adulthood, usually, they have acquired most of their father's limited stock of knowledge and skill.

The pastimes are almost entirely limited to imitations of their elders. In outlying villages boys may hunt alone or in groups for small game. In warm weather, they may go swimming. They seem, however, to have no formal games.

NAMING AND ADOLESCENT RITES

At present, Mayo names are given with some regard to the almanac of saints' days. Formerly, this was not done. Instead, some woman about the house at the time of birth said, "A reward, a reward. No one here divines what I carry (that is, what I am thinking of)." For half an hour or so the woman walked about repeating this. Then a dozen women were assembled and took turns guessing the name the woman was thinking of. The correct guesser became the godmother and her husband or sweetheart the godfather. After 15 days the godparents took the child to the city and had it baptized. They left town saying, "I must respect my *comadre*, I must respect my *compadre*, we are godparents of this child." They addressed it as "My legitimate godchild," saying also that they had a right to belong to its family. When they arrived at the house of the child, they greeted the parents, saying, "Here in the presence of God we are *compadres*," and gave the child to its parents. When the child was old enough to understand, the parents told it to call the godparents *niño* and *niña* and to respect them as its own parents. If the godparents lacked heirs, then the godchild inherited from them. On the saint's day of any young person, a fiesta was held to which all the village was invited. Presents of food were given, in advance if possible, and candles were burned all night in regular Mexican fashion.

The Yaqui infant is baptized by its godparents. If there is no priest available, the *maestro* sprinkles water on the child, but this is said not to be a real baptism. The child is always named for the saint on whose day it is born, otherwise "the grace and luck are lost." (From the distribution of names, one would be inclined to doubt this view. Moreover, many Yaqui go only by Cáhita names.) The infant is said to take after its godparents; if one is drunken or lazy, so will the child be.

Piercing the ears of girls is done long before the first menses, perhaps generally in infancy, and is unassociated with any ritual. Piercing is done with a needle, and a thread is left in the hole to keep it open. It is said that the Virgin will not recognize girls as hers if the ears are not pierced.

A Mayo informant mentioned crying from fright at her first menstruation, but no ritualization of the event is known.

It is very probable that the induction into the Yaqui military society may be regarded as a modified survival of a puberty rite for boys. (See account of the "adoption rite" (Beals, 1943, pp. 66–68 and 83–84).)

KINSHIP TERMS

The use of native kinship terms has almost disappeared among both Yaqui and Mayo. Preservation seems best among the Mayo, although this impression may result from the accident of my having encountered a Mayo informant who really knew the terms. Similar individuals may exist among the Yaqui. Certainly, it is true of both groups that most people do not know all the terms formerly used nor do they often know the correct usage of such terms as are remembered. Most people habitually use Spanish kinship terms today. For this reason the evidence and discussion of the native terms is taken up in the study of the aboriginal Cáhita (Beals, 1943, pp. 47–51).

The Mayo and Yaqui use of Spanish terms, rather than their own, presents some features of interest which Dr. Elsie Clews Parsons pointed out after working with the best Mayo informant. This informant, María Ontivéras, applied Spanish terms with apparent indifference to descent, and caused considerable confusion until she was checked carefully with genealogies. María's outstanding interest was in the principle of seniority. Yet in spite of this feeling, she has dropped, in ordinary speech, those Mayo terms which express the very age distinctions she feels so strongly. Her younger sister's son, whom she raised, she normally calls not by the age distinguishing Mayo term, but by the Spanish *sobrino* (nephew).

Marriage is permitted between cousins of the second degree and further if they have different family names, but between those of the same family name it is prohibited. Thus, terms which would distinguish descent would have a functional use. But again, the Mayo terms have lapsed and modified Spanish terms are used. In this case the Spanish patronymic may be a substitute if descent was formerly patrilineal.[17]

MARRIAGE

Present marriage customs are scarcely distinguishable from those of lower-class Mexicans except perhaps that marriage is more often legalized among the Mayo. Marriage is civil and the parents today do not interfere with the choice of mates. A wedding feast with dancing at the house of the girl's parents follows the wedding.

In earlier times Mayo marriages were arranged by the parents. Some informants insisted on the practice of local exogamy, the rancho, or settlement, being the unit; other informants denied it, but possibly were thinking in terms of larger village units embracing a number of ranchos.

Formerly, if a boy had parents he went with them to ask for the girl. His mother spoke first, then his father. The girl's parents, usually aware of the impending visit, sent the girl away to the house of friends or relatives. After the negotiations between the parents were finished, they said, "The girl is not here. Come again tomorrow and in the meantime we will ask her." The girl's mother talked to her. The next day the visit was repeated. The girl's father asked her before the visitors if she were willing. She did not answer until he had put the question three times. She was then greeted by the boy's mother and father and the boy's father gave the girl's mother money to buy a wedding dress. If the girl objected to the marriage, ordinarily the matter was dropped there, but if the man was older and violently in love, he has been known to kill the girl and himself as well. Parents ordinarily asked for a girl but once; if she agreed, the wedding theoretically occurred 15 days later.

If a young couple wished to marry and the parents objected, the priests formerly used to intercede, telling the parents worse things might result from the refusal. At the present time, more conservative mothers immediately investigate if they see a young man about the house two or three times, and if they do not wish him for a son-in-law, they order him to stay away. Formerly, a girl would not even be allowed outside the house if there were unmarried men about nor allowed to go away from the house unaccompanied. Marriages then were frequently arranged between the parents without the knowledge of the young people. The latter would know nothing of it until they would be brought together before the priest for the marriage ceremony. Elopements occurred but rarely and social attitudes condemned them.

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[17] Dr. Parsons has suggested that this practice of allowing to lapse terms which would serve a psychological or social function is an argument for the linguistic interpretation of kinship terms. Dr. Edward Spicer in a letter comments: "It seems to me that the data might be interpreted in precisely the opposite way. Spanish surnames have been adopted; marriage prohibitions forbid marriage with anyone having the same surname. Therefore a function of the kinship terminology has been eliminated: it is no longer necessary to know relationship in selecting marriage partners, it is necessary only to know the new surnames. Consequently kinship terms are no longer concerned with the descent distinctions, the Spanish terms may therefore be adopted without conflict or significant ambiguity, and accordingly they are."

While I agree with Dr. Spicer's further remark that consideration of more factors would be necessary for adequate discussion, Dr. Spicer fails to take into account the obvious factor that marriage is still prohibited with maternal first cousins and that here knowledge of actual relationship is essential. It is true that the descent distinctions of the old kinship system are very much diminished in importance by the use of the patronymic, but it is doubtful if the relative age distinctions Parsons particularly mentions ever had a relation to marriage customs.

The marriage of María apparently represents conditions of about 40 years ago. She is of a conservative family. Her father objected to the match, but María wept until he consented (she was about 25 at the time). The marriage was in the old church at old Navojoa and was followed by a horseback procession to her father's house. Chocolate and other things were served beneath a ramada there; then the procession went to the rancho of her husband, where food was also served beneath a ramada. There was a good deal of music and much horseback riding and display of finery. The party then returned to her home where there was a dance. Everyone got drunk. She was given to her husband the following day.[18]

At a still earlier time there would have been a fiesta with pascola and deer dancers. Atole and bakaváki would have been served. *Cahuetes* (fireworks) would have been fired on leaving the church. The bride would be delivered to her husband after 8 days, accompanied by large ollas of food, bundles of *cahuetes*, and other things. The couple lived in the man's father's house until the husband built his own. This often was not until the birth of the first child.

Today there is a good deal of contact between young people, although there is still much shyness and restraint between them. Talk about sex is rare at any time. "Áman wéye inhíepso (there goes my heart)," a young man used to say when he saw a girl he liked.

After marriage Mayo women were formerly quite strictly ruled by their husbands, at least in theory. They should not leave the house without the husband's permission. If suspected of having a lover, the woman was brought before the governor of the village, and she and her lover were stripped naked to the waist and flogged in public. Formerly, men were whipped for visiting prostitutes.

María's husband, whom she married against her father's wishes, turned out to be a drunkard; he went frequently to the prostitutes in the Mexican town and stayed as long as his money and credit permitted. He brought his inamoratas to the house and frequently taunted María with her imperfections compared to them. Once she bought a dagger to kill him should he get close enough to her. Her father and brother urged her to leave him, but she refused. When he was finally arrested by the Mexican authorities after a long debauch, a sympathetic judge sent for her and asked what to do with him. The judge offered to sentence the husband to a term in the army so she would be free of him, but María begged for his release. After his release he decided to go away. He came home and María gave him food and a blanket for his journey, but refused his urgings to accompany him. Reaching the outskirts of Cocorit on the Yaqui River, he was killed by lightning.

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[18] The Tarascans had a similar custom of separation, usually of 4 days, and Prieto notes it for Tamaulipas and the Aztecs (Relac. Mech., n. d., p. 54; Prieto, 1873, p. 125).

María's conscience evidently still troubles her a little; perhaps, she feels, she was not really a good wife to him.

According to other accounts, before marriage a girl formerly spent 8 days in her parent's house preparing food. At the end of this time she was taken to her husband. Presents were given by others in the village, so that the newly married couple were stocked for 15 days with prepared food. During this period, they rarely left the house. This house was one which the bridegroom had built in anticipation of the marriage.

The newly married couple were given land by the kobanáro. Other people in the village gave them various things so they were set up for housekeeping. They were given all sorts of household utensils, and the groom's parents, if they could afford it, gave them a cow and perhaps some sheep and goats. If the groom's parents were rich, the members of the village gave less or nothing. The young couple could not move permanently to another ranch without permission, although they could visit the wife's parents.

Widowers and widows might remarry but they always remarried a widow or widower. Divorce theoretically was unknown after Catholic times, but separations and remarriages still occur. Young children and older girls stay with the mother, older boys with the father. Prostitutes were unknown according to some informants, but others said they merely were not allowed to live in the villages and had huts out in the brush 3 or 4 miles away where they were visited secretly by the men.

Unmarried people were not allowed to talk together. If a girl was not asked in marriage, she used to die a virgin. Unmarried girls were kept busy in the house, weaving and doing similar household tasks. If a girl had a child before marriage she was forced to tell who the father was. If he was of another village, they were married at once; if they were of the same village, both were sent away to different villages. I secured no account of sexual instruction or lack of it. (But among the Yaqui the young people, both men and women, were supposed to be entirely innocent upon marriage. A standing Yaqui joke whenever anyone gets married is to ask who is going to sleep with them the first night and show them what to do.) The levirate and sororate were strictly prohibited, although the sororate certainly was practiced aboriginally. The age of marriage for boys was 21, for girls, 16. Residence was always patrilocal. If the mother died, the children stayed with the father; if the father died, the wife returned to her own people, taking the children with her. Before marriage a man's penis was said to be examined by two or three men representing the parents of the girl. It was believed that if the penis was too large it might cause the girl's death. This may well be a perversion of some missionary's idea for keeping down venereal disease.

Sexual indiscretions were severely punished. The aboriginal practice of marrying a stepdaughter was evidently stamped out by the early missionaries with great severity. In times remembered by older informants, a man who had relations with his stepdaughter would be burned to death. Presumably this punishment would be meted out to any violator of the incest rules. If a woman talked to a man other than her husband, the husband reported her to the kobanáro, who had her stripped naked and publicly beaten. A piece was also bitten out of each ear. The same was done to a man if his wife found him talking to another woman.

Another account, dictated by a Mayo, of marriage "40 years ago," that is, a long time ago, is as follows:

> The parents of the girl would visit some other ranch. If they saw there some youth they liked for their son, they returned to their house and filled a basket with food and took it to the parents of the boy. At the same time the girl was taken along and given to the parents of the youth. If the youth's parents did not approve of the marriage, they had to pay back the food, but if the marriage went through, they did not pay it back. Marriage took place in the church, which was the best marriage. All in the *ranchería* or town helped the newlyweds with all the utensils and implements of agriculture, so that the recently married had all the utensils for working for their living because all their neighbors helped them. If they were poor, they helped them the more. All the neighbors of Indian origin helped them and only if they were very rich, they did not help them. When they were poor, all helped them with everything, so that their home lacked nothing. Usually, if they were rich, the parents gave them a pregnant cow and other close relatives gave them help. Thus in that epoch all had their means better than now. Generally, all were careful in their labors and were economical in everything. If the husband of the home became sick, the godparents, who they said were the second parents, were immediately notified and cared for whoever in the house was ill. If 2 years passed and there were no children, they said then that one of them was ill. Then they (the godparents) brought a *curandero* to see them and see which was sick. The *curandero* gave the sick person a medicine of roots and shortly, if there were children, they said the *curandero* was a good witch, but if there were no children, they said it was that God did not wish to give them family. It was their belief; and if the home turned out badly, through fault of the man or woman, then the kobanáro punished them very severely.

If it was the fault of the woman, she was placed with her hands tied from one stick to the other, and an old woman gave her a good whipping with a branch of mesquite. If the man was to blame, they whipped him more cruelly. And after returning to their home, if they continued their method of living, then they cut half the nose from the woman and from the man they bit a piece out of each ear. This was if they were both bad, but if only one, they chastised the one very severely. This account differs notably from others in attributing the initiative in marriages to the girl's family.

According to one Yaqui account of present practices, the parents of the boy take a measure (*almud*) of maize to the parents of the girl. If the marriage proposed is acceptable, the girl makes tamales of the maize and takes them to the parents of the boy at the end of 3 days. A marriage feast is held at the girl's house. Frances Toor notes some other details. The bride's parents provide bakaváki. The godparents attend the wedding. Presents of food are exchanged by the parents. Girls sometimes wear a shell about the neck as a sign that they are virgins (an aboriginal practice). The crucial part of the ceremony is drinking water together in the groom's house.[19]

Boys are theoretically old enough to marry at 15, girls at 12. Actually, many males of ages 18 to 25 are still unmarried. In the main, these cases appeared due to economic considerations or, what is perhaps more fundamental, the lack of interested relatives to assist them. Some said the godparents arranged marriages rather than the parents. The ideal marriage is apparently one arranged by the parents when the two principals are young. The parents pick the spouse for their child, and children are often married without any foreknowledge of the event. After marriage the godparents take them to the home of the parents. They stop at the house cross and exhort them for a short time, then shut the two alone in the house for about a quarter of an hour. Then the maestro and the godparents enter and counsel them on "the way to live," telling them how to live properly, that one should not leave one's spouse for any reason, that they are as of one father and one mother. The young couple live with the man's parents until they are grown and have means of support (particularly in youthful marriages) or until they have children.[20]

Marriage may be either in the same village or out of it. Marriage with any known relative is forbidden.

If the parents do not arrange the marriage, an older man may ask the mother of a woman he likes. If all the relatives and the girl agree, they then are married.

Granville describes a Yaqui marriage ceremony witnessed some 45 years ago. The man was 20, the girl 13. The parents of both favored the marriage. The man was put on "probation" for 10 days while men tried to induce him to drink, the woman to flirt. Then the man was summoned before a council of five old men of the tribe, including the chief, and his character defamed by various accusations against which he had to defend himself. Passing this test successfully, the marriage was completed, each party discharging a gun. This was said to signify that either could kill the other if unfaithful. After this there was dancing until morning at the home of the bride's parents (Granville, 1899, pp. 92–93).

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[19] Toor (1937, p. 56). Dr. Edward Spicer calls attention to the fact that I have failed adequately to distinguish the numerous sets of godparents acquired by the individual in the course of his life. Informants were general in their statements and at the time I did not realize the tremendous importance of the godparent relationship. I also was too indifferent to what I considered essentially Spanish aspects of the culture. The godparent relationship was adopted by the Cáhita with an eagerness which caused comment by the missionaries and, as Dr. Spicer rightly observes, there were separate sets for baptism, confirmation, marriage, entrance into societies, and other occasions. An excellent treatment of the godparents is given in Dr. Spicer's book on Pascua village (Spicer, 1940), although further work is needed to clarify the situation on the Yaqui River.

[20] Dr. Spicer reports that at Pascua the pascola dancers play an important part in the wedding. I never succeeded in encountering a wedding ceremony, but pascola dancers were mentioned by Mayo informants. From their importance, pascola should appear and if they actually take no part today, it is to be suspected that this is a lapse from former custom.

Velasco and Zúñiga accuse the Yaqui of exchanging wives and being indifferent to elopement and adulteries (Velasco, 1850, p. 78; Ignacio Zúñiga, quoted in Hernández, 1902, p. 93). This is utterly at variance with both past and present facts, and may be dismissed.

The contradiction of Velasco and Zúñiga is contained in frequent early documentary reports of the morality of the Yaqui, as well as of the harshness with which sexual offenders were punished. Flogging is today the least of the punishments, inflicted for merely talking to a person of the opposite sex in a secluded place. Frances Toor (1937, p. 56) notes how foreign the idea of divorce is; although today separations occur, people who have separated may not be remarried by any ceremony. A generation or two ago practices were even harsher than those recorded for the Mayo. Yaqui informants said that formerly if spouses refused to live together despite the intercession of relatives, the godmother placed upon the offending spouse (or both if they were equally at fault) the rosary worn by the dead. The culprit was placed in the position of the dead, and candles were burned 3 nights. If by the end of this time the person had not begged forgiveness, he was buried alive. Such was the effect of Jesuit instruction upon a people already possessed of strict morals. Significantly, the bow chief was in charge of such matters.

DEATH BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS

The ideas of the Mayo on death and the future life are not and seem never to have been particularly clear or consistent, a not uncommon thing among primitive peoples. In addition to what was probably an initial uncertainty, the ideas are largely tinged with and in some respects entirely colored by an unassimilated Catholicism. The picture is further complicated by the fact that the actual customs of today differ considerably from those of a generation ago.

The Mayo of today hold vague Catholic ideas about the future life. One dies and ultimately arrives in heaven. The steps involved in this passage are none too clearly understood and are never formulated by the average Mayo.

On the other hand, the elderly people have clearly formulated ideas which do not always coincide with practice and do not cover all cases. From Christianity has been developed the idea of heaven and hell. But hell is not a subterranean place of punishment and expiation. The idea of an underworld seemed completely foreign to all informants, even the most sophisticated. Hell is this life on earth. As one man expressed it, "When Christ died he left hell and went to heaven." Heaven is a vaguely conceived of place in the sky where one leads a happy life. With the character of this life the Mayo is unconcerned; he merely repeats such fragments of Catholic ideas as he can remember.

On the other hand, there are persistent suggestions of a belief in reincarnation. For example, if an old person has died recently, when a child of the opposite sex is born it is frequently said, "There he (or she) is." Even more general is the belief that if the spirit is not received in heaven (Dios hamavéta, "God does not receive him"; iháiyi Mariá Santísima kaiyókori, "mother Mary Sainted does not pardon him") it is sent back to earth to do penance (penára). This was agreed on by informants who denied any belief in or knowledge of ideas of reincarnation. One informant said this penance was to become one of the horned water serpents for a hundred years, after which the spirit again went to the sky. Spirits might also be seen by acquaintances (not by members of the family) walking about in their death clothes.

Practices in connection with death and burial vary widely with the condition and position of the deceased. Small children under the age of about 6 are called "little angels" and receive special attention. They are considered to be without sin, to be like doves. For them a fiesta is given at which pascola dance. It begins at sundown and continues until the following morning. The body is placed on a bier before a temporary altar under the house ramada or a special ramada erected for the occasion. The body is decked with flowers and a rosary is placed about the neck. This is done by the godparents, who also prepare the body for the funeral, dress it, sometimes buy a coffin or at any rate prepare the *palanque* or bier on which it is borne, and then carry it to the grave. Sometimes the body is taken to the church first. Leaving the house, the procession makes one circuit of the house cross.

It is also said that a child must be carried to the graveyard on the head of its father. This was observed several times although no other details of the funeral were seen. On the occasions observed there was no procession, the mother alone accompanying the father to the church.

Some informants said that in former times the burial ceremonies for a child were more complex. The godparents were notified immediately and attended to all details of the burial. It was considered in either life or death that the godparents should attend to the most crucial things concerning their godchildren. The godparents, on arrival, inquired as to the cause of death. The parents usually did not tell the truth, as they feared the reproaches of the godparents if they were considered guilty of negligence. The usual reply was that the child had fallen ill in the night and died without their knowledge. The godparents then said, "That is to say, you do not know at what hour the child died?" On being answered in the negative, the godparents requested the parents to enter the house and not put foot outside until after the burial. A man and a woman guarded the door of the house to see that this order was complied with and the godparents did not address another word to the parents. If it were necessary to ask questions, they were asked of the brothers or sisters of the deceased, who in turn asked the parents. The godparents asked first if there were some vow owed by the parents in behalf of the child. If there were, the godparents held a small fiesta (presumably resembling that of the Yaqui described later) so that the child could leave this world without owing anything. (But it is fairly clear that there is *always* a fiesta for a child.) The flowers placed on the body were white and those placed about the body were colored. Two boys and two girls bore the body halfway to the burial ground, where they were met by the godparents, who bore it the rest of the way, taking turns, first the godfather and then the godmother. On arrival at the burial ground, the body was immediately buried. The godparents then returned to the home of the parents and released them from the house. The parents came out weeping. The godparents reproved them for their lack of care of the child and departed. The godparents addressed no word to the parents after this until they had another child. The godparents were then asked to become godparents of the newborn child. After baptising the infant, the godparents spoke to the parents and good relations were restored.

For adults of ordinary status no fiesta is given. There is a *velación*, the body being placed before a temporary altar and candles being burned. Before death, usually three sets of godparents are selected. These give a rosary of small black beads with a black cross to the deceased as well as the "cord of the dead" (bwai waibúsan, "breechclout belt"). This is a cord and breechclout made of domesticated *maguey* fiber. It is placed on both male and female, adult and child, over the ordinary clothing. The ends of the breechclout, which are passed over the belt or cord, extend down to the feet between the legs and five white "flowers," also made of *maguey* fiber, are placed on it between the legs. (Cotton is often used today for the cord and flowers.) This is also spoken of as mukiláto véci (dead person's dress), or imbatoásoa vécibu (godchild's dress). The godparents may take this dress and the shroud to the church to be blessed by the priest or, as is usual now, by a maestro (lay reader), with holy water and prayers.

The corpse is dressed in its best clothes; new stockings and perhaps other new garments are purchased. Special emphasis is laid on placing a new hat in the grave with the deceased. The old clothes and bedding are burned some distance away from the house, so that no sickness will come. Burial must take place before midday, usually the morning following death.

Some members of the fiesteros (the organizations in charge of ceremonies) of San Juan and Christ, with their banners, are present at all funerals. They stand at the head of the corpse with the banners, while the maestro and two singers pray and sing at the foot. Theoretically, the corpse should have the head toward the altar (which in the majority of churches would face east). Sometimes there are two maestros with their singers, in which case they alternate and prayers and songs are continuous.

The head of the household seeks the maestro when he is needed. "Émo á'u síka ámum veláro (we must *velar* (burn candles for) the dead)," he says to the maestro. The maestro and the singers are paid 1 or 2 pesos for their services. Friends and relatives bring money, food, and candles, especially for a dead pascola dancer (some informants denied food is brought). Contributions of the neighbors are sometimes begged by the householder and the fiesteros, who take the image of their saint and their banner from house to house before the maestro is summoned. The body is carried to the graveyard by four men, not relatives of the family, but friends. The relatives have absolutely no part in the funeral beyond raising the contributions of food and money and summoning the maestro.

When the body is taken to the graveyard, the fiesteros go ahead. Usually they run at least part of the way to arrive at the graveyard in time to see that all the preparations are complete before the body arrives. The devil is said to go before and they are chasing him to prevent him from seizing the dead. They make a double circuit three times about the body on the road, about the *cruz mayor* (great cross), and at the grave, waving their banners violently. At the funeral, if the householder is able, he gives the fiesteros food, but most fiesteros carry their own for emergency.

On the Fuerte River, the mourners run ahead of the body and hide in the brush. After the body has passed, they come out of the brush "looking scared" and follow behind. The devil is said to be chasing them to the graveyard and he is fooled by their hiding. Among all the Mayo, if the body is set down on the way to the graveyard, a cross must be erected. On the more traveled roads there are permanent crosses used for resting places. Women accompanying the party bear baskets of green leaves or flowers with which they decorate the arms of the cross, the leaves of the *pioche* tree being much employed.

On arrival at the graveyard, the body is set down before the *cruz mayor* with the head toward the cross. Prayers and songs are given.

The body is then carried to the grave and lowered. Members of the family are supposed to avert their eyes so as not to see the body lowered into the grave or the dirt thrown on it. Some run to another part of the graveyard and hide. To see the corpse lowered into the grave would mean death for the relative of the deceased. Relatives may not sleep until after the burial.

The grave is made as deep as the person stood when erect. The body is extended "so the dead may walk in heaven." Theoretically, the head is buried toward the north, but actually there seems to be little orientation other than that governed by the position of the church.

The layout of the burial ground at Cohuirimpo is typical. The large cross is located beneath a ramada at the south side. Surmounting a large mound (probably a ruined structure of the mission period), is another ramada, closed on two sides. On the north side is a table made of canes on which rests a broken wooden tamp for pounding down earth in graves. Over the table is a small cross attached to the wall, and resting against the wall is another tamp intact (pl. 14, fig. 1). These tamps are large wooden clubs, carved of one piece of wood, with heads about 6 inches in diameter, 4 inches in depth, and with a handle about 4 feet long, all carved out of one piece of wood. Other tools are carried along with the party bearing the body to the burial ground. Some ceremonies also take place under this northern ramada which, in the absence of any church nearer than San Ignacio, takes the place of the church. At Tesia, for example, the burial ground is near the church and the body is carried into the church and prayed over. It is then set before the cross outside, here called the Cross of Pardon. After a time it is carried to the burial ground and buried.

At Bacavachi a superficially different type of burial exists which seems to represent a closer adherence to old patterns. The body is buried by the fiesteros. (This is certainly not always the case along the river, although the fiesteros themselves assert that it is.) The body is prepared by the godparents at the house as is done along the river. The fiesteros then run in advance of the body to the church, which they circle two or three times, and then on to the burial ground, where they dig the grave and perform ceremonies. The bearers of the body and the mourners also run. They stop at the church and pray and then run to the burial ground with the body. By the time the body arrives at the burial ground, the fiesteros are supposed to have finished their tasks. This makes the burial more or less of a race.

The race element is still regarded rather seriously. A woman of the fiesteros on one occasion did not feel like running and so fell behind the others. On the way she ran a mesquite spine into her foot. She would not allow the spine to be removed because she regarded it as a punishment from the dead for not having run fast enough. Her foot swelled to enormous size, but eventually the spine worked itself out and she recovered.

The graves are always marked by crosses, often fantastically modified. Several at Cohuirimpo were surmounted by birds, in some cases the upright being divided above the crosspiece and a bird being carved on each arm (pl. 14, fig. 2). Some graves have more or less elaborate brick slabs or tombs over them. Many are decorated with paper flowers or paper wreaths or handfuls of *pioche* leaves. Formerly a wreath of wire and pieces of broken glass called the "crown of gold" was hung on the cross and a "flower" of the same construction was laid at the foot of the cross.

Close relatives are sometimes buried in the same grave. The skulls of the dead are believed to have a cross on the forehead when dug up. One informant claimed to have seen such a cross.

Ceremonies for the kobanáro and other church officials are held in the church, and the prayers are said there instead of in their homes. The church bells are rung. Otherwise the funeral appears to differ little from that of a layman. Matachini are buried wearing the matachin crown, feather wand, and gourd rattle. Flowers are placed on the body as for a child. The matachini bring musicians and food, and dance before the corpse of a matachin or that of a member of his immediate family. They repeat this 6 days after burial and also at the end of the year. A head fiestera of Christ is buried with the crown and dress of the Virgin. Whether similar practices obtained for the other fiesteras or for those of San Juan was not ascertained. Nothing extra is done for the burial of a male fiestero, but all the fiesteros attend the funeral of one who has held the office. The pascola and deer dancers are buried with their equipment beside them, but they do not wear it.

At the present time coffins are frequently used, but the earlier practice, still often seen, is to lay the body on a frame made of poles to which crosspieces of split canes are bound with mesquite bark. The body is wrapped in a palm-leaf mat. Old people say coffins are bad: they are like a prison; the body is shut up and the dead cannot rest. The frames are not buried with the body, but are piled up in the graveyard to be burned on the day of the dead.

If the deceased person has made a vow to some saint, this must be carried out at the funeral. If he has promised a dozen *cahuetes*, these must be fired off. If he owes a fiesta, one must be given commensurate with the promise.

Should anyone die during Lent, the funeral is in charge of the clowns. It is said that the dead person belongs to them and they perform all the duties of the funeral. The fiesteros also appear, however, and if the person is a matachin, the group dances as usual. In case either clowns or matachini are to take part in the funeral, they assemble a little distance from the house. The householder goes to them and says, "Why are you here?" Their leader responds, "We have come for our dead." They then enter and begin their functions.

When the dead are buried by the clowns, the latter make jokes during the *velación*. When the maestro prays, they dance; when he says, "Accursed be the devil who wishes to seize my soul," they make the sign of paying money to the wind.

The members of the family of the dead person are under strict taboos for 8 days after death. They may not drink milk or they will lose their sight or their teeth. Many do not eat cheese either. They may not leave the house for any purpose except for the funeral. They must pray every night for the dead. Others say the mourners sweat in the sun for an hour or so and burn candles; this is called velárua mukilatavéci. They must not sweep the house.

At Bacavachi, moreover, it is said if the mourners eat red chiles during this time their eyes will turn red, while if the ears are not plugged with wool or cotton plugs, or if the plugs are removed during the week, deafness will ensue.

A generation or two ago more ceremonies were observed in the case of adults. If an adult owed some vow at the time of death, a fiesta was prepared immediately, the men and women bringing together contributions for the purpose. After the fiesta, everyone gathered around the body and prayed, saying in the prayer that now the dead person was saved and could go to his destiny. Then the chief of the fiesta named six men to go to the burial ground and prepare the grave or sepulcher. When they finished this, they came running to the place where the body was and told the leader that the grave was ready. Then everyone—men, women, and children—circled the body, which was then carried by four men to the burial ground. The feet must always go foremost. At the burial ground the body was laid before the large cross (*cruz mayor*) for 1 hour, after which everyone prayed and sang and then circled it again. It was then carried to the grave and placed inside. Each person took a handful of earth and dropped it into the grave, saying, "For the last time." This each person repeated three times. The chief then called all together and said, "We have complied with our duty and the spirit of this soul is now with God." Then all raised their hands to heaven, saying, "God hears you. Goodbye. Goodbye." "To your homes everyone," said the chief, and all walked out of the burial ground with bowed heads. Once outside, they raised their heads and all took different directions to their homes. Every day for 3 days each person who had been at the burial said, "May God have him in heaven. We have done our duty."

If an adult died who did not owe any vow, the body rested in a house for 1 night with candles burning about it. Three *credos* were recited over the body every 3 hours. The body was interred the following day and prayers were recited for it every day for 9 days (called the *novena*).

If the person who died was very old, the mourners struck their hands together, saying that man was very happy because he had lived so long and God had preserved him. Also during the clapping of the hands they said that this was because he was a good man and there should be much dancing and drinking to bid him farewell from this world, and they rubbed their hands from pleasure. All night candles were burned and everyone danced and laughed and drank with great pleasure, and the old people drank and sang and shouted. The next day the body was taken to the burial ground well wrapped in a blanket and a mat, and buried with the same ceremonies as before described, except that all danced or sang and laughed. If it should happen shortly after that a child was born in the town, it was given the name of the dead person (not the surname), and people said, "ho'o, ho'o, ho'o, ho'o, ho'o, ho'o, hu'ola, hu'ola," which meant "Look, look, look, the old man, the old man, the old man, now comes, now comes."

At burial ceremonies *cahuetes* are shot off in considerable numbers. One informant said that if this were not done, the dead would not reach heaven. This again conflicts with notions of reincarnation.

Nothing is buried with the dead except the things mentioned in the foregoing accounts. A dead person is known as mokíla or *ánima*.

The behavior in connection with death is of interest. There is no great expression of sorrow unless it be in formalized wailing chants such as were heard among the Yaqui. (But a widow at Pascua became hysterical during a chant.) Instead, there seems to be a certain amount of smiling and good humor among the members of the processions. At Tesia it was said that the mourners leave the church laughing and making jokes. Indeed, it is said that a Mayo never cries. Sick people who have reached the moribund condition are virtually abandoned. The face is covered with a cloth and neither food nor water is given. (This behavior is modifying rapidly at present.)

Six or eight days after death, the Mayo hold the second *velación* (limosnao). In the case of an adult this consists simply of burning candles before the altar. Usually the mourners and visitors are fed, particularly if the dead person owned a bull, in which case the bull is killed and the meat served with atole and bread. The matachini or the pascola dance if the deceased were a matachin or a child. In any case, a maestro and singers are summoned for prayers. The maestro sprinkles holy water about the house and after this the spirit of the dead leaves. On the Fuerte River this ceremony is called *el responso* and is held on the eighth day. One year after death, another limosnao is given by the family. This is always a fiesta, regardless of the status of the dead person.

If a person dies far away from home, the same series of ceremonies is performed as soon as the family finds out.

A regular mourning ceremony is held every year on All Saints Day and on All Souls Day, November 1 and 2. Five days in advance many tamales are made, lengths of sugarcane and fruits are brought, and all is installed in a sort of booth close to the cross which is to be found outside every house. Whoever comes to the house and prays is given food from this stall as payment for the prayer. The food in the booth is said to belong to the dead, who take this method of paying for the prayers. The same is done in the burial ground. Mescal is frequently served also, particularly if some drunkard comes and prays for the dead.

According to another account, in the evening of All Saints Day and of All Souls Day in November, food is set out, usually food liked by the dead, on a table by the house cross in the evening. One informant thought that this was a Mexican custom and did not believe that the dead came to eat the food. Another said people put out tamales, bread, and brown-sugar cakes, and lighted a candle saying, "ban sékam híwa hibwáim ánimam (now they come to eat at their house, eat it, dead one)," and believe that the dead do eat the food. The maestro and singers may visit the house and say prayers for the dead, taking part of the food in payment. The children are remembered in this way on All Saints Day. On All Souls Day, food is usually taken to the cemetery and candles are burned on the graves all night. The graves are sometimes tidied up and flowers (usually paper) are placed on them. The maestros or friends visit the various people and say, "hátcim téwa ánimam (what are the names of your dead)?" Then they pray for them and take food in payment. The remaining food is not left in the cemetery. On this night the matachini dance in the church.

The spirit, or wind of the dead, hovers about the house for 8 days after the death. It seems fairly clear that this period was formerly 3 days and that a second *velación* was held at the end of 3 days. Due to the influence of the Mexican *novena*, the period has been lengthened. Formerly, candles were kept burning 3 days, and it was customary for people in those times to talk to the dead and sometimes to see them. But nowadays a person who talks with the dead is apt to be frightened and die. Several stories illustrated the fact that the dead still haunt the house until the second *velación* and exorcism. They manifest themselves by making sounds in the house at night and in one case a dog belonging to the dead person acted as though jumping up on his master. After the exorcism, the dog ceased this action.

For 3 days after death, at 10 a. m., the room in which the dead person died is purified by burning dung, cow horn, mesquite gum, the nest of a large bird (waibarákas) found in the woods (some informants indicated any bird's nest would do), feathers, and dry pitahaya. The members of the household go into the room where the smoke is being made, strip themselves, and "bathe" in the smoke (or bathe in warm water). This "cures" the mourners, prevents sickness, and stops the evil effects of sorrow.

Despite the feeling that the dead leave after the eighth day, it is often said that the dead are always about and help the family, and that people are not afraid of their voices. If one has lost a cow or a horse and burns a half-dozen candles to his dead, someone is sure to bring the animal back. One informant said that if the dead return it is as wind. When the wind goes out, people are dead. Another informant said she was not afraid of the dead, but of a small dove which flies into the house and says, "Chit, chit, chit." It is a sign of death in the house.

Death is also believed to be foretold by the animals of the house. If a member of the family is going to die, the animals will turn their heads away from the member and cry.

Belief in ghosts is apparently not general, but the following tale, told by an informant, suggests the nature of such beliefs as exist.

> Some people do not believe in ghosts but there must be such things. A man, a Mexican, found a cave in the mountains near Alamos. It was stopped up but he opened it and had started to go in when he heard a voice. He looked around but could see nothing. He started to go in again when he heard a voice say, "It is mine." He looked about still more carefully but could see no one. When he returned to the cave a white bundle came out and he ran away. He came back six times, and each time the bundle came out. Later he came back with other men and they could find neither the cave nor his tracks.

At death the Yaqui believe the spirit (híepsi, "spirit, heart") hovers about the house for 3 days until the *novena*, which actually occurs 3 days after burial, not 8 as among the Mayo. Then the house is sprinkled with holy water by the maestro. The nature of the burial rites varies with the social status of the deceased, but certain features are in common. There is a ceremony preceding burial, another 3 days later, and a third a year after death. The grave is prepared by the tamasti (sexton), and the body is borne to the graveyard by friends and the godparents (limánci, "carrying to the crosses among the godmothers"). Burial is always before midday. The fiesteros (paskóme) attend all funeral ceremonies and accompany the body to the graveyard; the maestros and kopáriam (singers) walk beside it. The paskóme go ahead. The corpse is taken to the church first, where the maestro and kopáriam sing and pray, and then to the cemetery. The family and the paskóme sit distant from the grave with their backs to it while the burial takes place, performed by friends and godparents. All present then make a circuit of the grave, salute one another, and return home.

Certain taboos and observances are general. In the house smelly things such as horns, béak béna (an herb), situbáro (heartwood of pitahaya), and dung are burned in a bowl. The mourners breathe in this smoke. The mourners may not comb their hair or it will fall out; eat pinole or they will lose their teeth; and they stuff rags in their ears to preserve their hearing. This is said to be done for 8 days.

For the funeral of a child (some say any unmarried person), a fiesta is held at which the pascola dance, and sometimes a deer dancer and matachini. A bull is supposed to be killed. The body is decked with flowers and placed before an altar beside which the dancers perform.

A Yaqui ceremony observed at Potan in 1930 was conducted as follows:

The ceremonies took place in a ramada by the house. In one portion of this ramada was a temporary altar. This section was partly walled with mats, being open on the side toward the dancers (south) and toward the front (west). The altar was against the mats on the east side and consisted of a table covered with a white cloth. Another white cloth was hung on the wall behind it. The altar bore a large crucifix with a double cross, the image of Christ being on the lower arm and the letters INRI on the upper. Extra candles, fireworks, a Bible or prayer book, and other odd objects, as well as numerous paper flowers, were also on the altar. Two empty candlesticks stood on the altar, while before it stood two tall candlesticks with burning candles. The body of the child was swathed in cloth and rested on an ordinary wooden packing box in front of the altar.

Before dark the musicians and dancers assembled at a close-by house and were fed, afterward donning their paraphernalia. There were two pascola dancers, a violinist, harpist, and drummer. The drummer sat on a mat on the ground at the south edge of the ramada east of the center line. A plank set in the ground at a slight angle served him as a backrest. The other two musicians sat on chairs in the northeast corner of the dancer's section of the ramada. The dancing took place mostly between the drummer and the musicians. A bench along the south side was provided for spectators.

Before the dancing began various people knelt before the bier and prayed for a moment. After the dancing started, several women began decorating the corpse. First, strings of beads (probably rosaries) were laid over it, some being inserted underneath the wrappings of the corpse. The whole was then completely covered with red and white paper flowers. Mats were then laid on the ground and the mourners sat on these, several children among them. These had to be shaken awake occasionally but there was no severity about the treatment, rather they were given a pitying and tolerating smile. During the intervals, the dancers carried on their customary jokes.

About 11 or 11:30, the mourners lighted candles. The bier and crucifix, to the accompaniment of a slow chant suggesting a negro spiritual, were carried about 200 yards toward the church. At this point a permanent cross stood. The procession was accompanied by the firing of many *cahuetes*, especially during the sporadic chants of the mourners. The bier and crucifix were set down on the ground, the mourners gathered round, and a maestro led a prayer to which the mourners responded, occasionally breaking into a chant.

After about 5 minutes the procession was followed by the dancers and the drummer. With the drummer between them, the dancers performed some steps and the whole procession returned to the ramada, led by the dancers. The bier and the crucifix were restored to their places and the dancers and the drummer advanced toward the bier and back either three or four times. They then returned to their dancing, and the mourners began to chant. Not long after this the dancers stopped for a time and were fed in a nearby house. The audience had also been receiving food from time to time as well as the native tobacco handed out by the dancers.

At a somewhat later hour another procession took place, and still later a third. The chanting and dancing continued intermittently throughout the night. At an early hour in the morning, the ceremonies were transferred to the church. The bells were rung frequently and fireworks were shot off from time to time. Not long after nine a. m. the ceremonies were completed. The actual time of burial was not observed. The mat and rack on which the body was carried were thrown on a pile to the north of the church.. It was said they would be burned on All Souls Day.[21]

For a married man or woman a *velación* (yohicupánwak) is held. The body is dressed with a cord about the waist and a breechclout (bwáhi wikósa), the ends of which reach to the feet. Candles are burned all night, the mourners stay awake until the burial, the maestro and kopáriam sing and pray. Generally on the third night (in two cases observed the fourth and fifth night respectively), but sometimes on the eighth night after the burial, is held the novenayabáuwa, another *velación*. For a married man or woman with children a fiesta is held a year later with pascola and deer dancers at which the play of the deer is performed (see p. 130). Other adults are simply given a *velación*. The end-of-the-year ceremony is called lutugó'tigwa or lutucúktia (the removal of the mourning). At all *velaciónes* the guests are fed. The food is contributed by various members of the community. The mourners and paskóme sometimes go about with the image of the saint asking alms in the exile village of Pascua in Arizona, but in the home villages the expenses are frequently defrayed by the kobaná'u, who pays them from the village treasury.

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[21] A bitter December north wind and the preliminary symptoms of what turned out to be an attack of malaria prevented complete observation.

If the dead was a member of any society, it takes part in his burial. For a soldier, the soldiers dance the coyote dance at the *velaciónes*. If the deceased was a matachin or the relative of a matachin, the matachini dance (also at a *novena* and at the end of a year). If he was a fariseo, fariseos attend also and help with the burial. In the latter case, the dead man is watched the first night by a fellow fariseo wearing a mask and carrying the sticks (with which he keeps away flies). The corpse wears a mask also and his sticks are laid beside him. The masks and sticks are not buried but burned. Two masks and two sets of sticks are saved at Easter for this purpose.[22] The tenánces and kopáriam are buried wearing the crown of their office. If a man has belonged to more than one society, the members of each attend his funeral.

Dr. Parsons observed a burial ceremony at Guaymas which contains interesting details and for which she gave me her notes.

> The deceased was a woman. The husband apparently was the matachin chief or *mayordomo.* He collected the paraphernalia of the dancers and placed it on a mat before a cross decorated with white papers. A lantern burned alongside the cross. Under the ramada was a double camp bed of white canvas. On a table behind was placed a crucified Christ and a small saint. Four long white candles and some green potted plants (evidently an addition due to the Mexican surroundings, as they are not seen in the pure Indian villages) were placed at each corner of the bed. There were no flowers. The bed was covered by loose blankets so that it was impossible to be sure it held the corpse. A wooden box coffin stood nearby on a trestle.
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> Six or seven women surrounded the bed, evidently arranging the corpse.[23] When they finished, the corpse could be seen, dressed in white, a white frill cap on the head, white stockings on the feet, and, resting on the insteps, a container for coins, which were dropped in by several guests as they arrived. One man placed what appeared to be native tobacco near the feet; another, a small white candle. The altar table was removed as well as the plants, and a mat spread at the foot of the bed where the women knelt and prayed as they came in.
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> Eight or nine women now knelt and chanted together. (These were the singers and were, or should have been, accompanied by a maestro.) Then the dancers picked up their things from the foot of the cross and stood in a group with the musicians a moment before they began dancing. When the dancing started, they danced toward the foot of the bed where they inclined themselves, bowing, then danced backward and forward again. They then took up the regular dance figures.

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[22] During Lent all funerals are in charge of the fariseos. Holden (1936, pp. 55 et seq.) describes such a funeral, although his interpretations are most dubious.

[23] Probably godmothers or godchildren.

After 15 minutes, the dancers danced into the ramada and encircled the corpse in two lines, passing at the head. They inclined toward the corpse, shaking their rattles toward it. There are 10 minutes of this *curious* [italics are Dr. Parsons'] circling about the body, "which is evidently being treated as a *santu.*" They then resumed the regular figures. About 25 minutes later the dancing stopped.

The *mayordomo* (matachin chief?) now took the two violinists to the foot of the bed. The three knelt on the mat, prayed silently, crossed themselves, then made a kind of circuit with the torso, followed by two more crossings and two more circuits or swings of the torso. They then stood and crossed themselves three times. The three front dancers now repeated this rite exactly, putting on their headdresses as they knelt and snatching them off as they turned to go. All the dancers did the same, in pairs, after which the regalia was all deposited again at the foot of the cross and the dancers withdrew.

The entire ceremony was repeated twice before dawn. At 8 a. m. the burial took place. Dr. Parsons was informed that the dancers were paid, but she may have been misinformed, as this is a modification which does not occur either in the Yaqui villages on the river or at Pascua village in Tucson.

At Pascua village near Tucson, two similar funerals were observed in 1931 in which matachini appeared. One of these was for a former matachin *monarca.* In the afternoon, contributions were solicited from house to house and food and money collected. Relatives accompanied the party. The banner of San Juan (?), borne by a girl in white, was waved over the heads of those who prayed to the accompanying saint.[24]

The arrangement of the corpse and surroundings differed only in minor details from those described above. The maestro and singers prayed and chanted. The matachini began dancing between 7 and 9 with a slow opening dance. A girl, bearing the banner of the matachini and wearing a tenánce crown, waved the banner in the four directions, then stood at the foot of the corpse. The matachini danced slowly up to the corpse and back several times. Then there was an interlude of regular matachin dances. About 10, accompanied by the violinists, the dancers circled the bier in two files in opposite directions. Three circuits were made.

The girl with the banner more or less accompanied the *monarca* or dance leader, but was not definitely in the file. At the conclusion of the three circuits, the dancers formed a circle about the corpse. The *monarca* and director of the matachini stood on the right hand of the corpse, the *malinchi* (a female impersonator) on the left. Where the deceased had been a matachin, rather than merely a relative, the crown or headdress, feather wand, and rattle were taken from the altar. The latter two were held by the *malinchi* while the *monarca,* aided by the director, placed the crown on the head of the corpse, then placed the wand and rattle in its hands. In the case of a relative, the dancers knelt as a group and prayed, the banner (sometimes two) being waved over the head of the corpse. In the case of the deceased *monarca,* each dancer successively knelt at the right hand of the corpse and prayed. During prayers, the banner was waved over the feet of the corpse. At the conclusion of the prayers, three circuits were danced, the files reversing directions. Then a long rapid dance was performed. About 11:30 the dancers were fed by the householders.

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[24] E. H. Spicer reports that the presence of relatives and the girl in white is contrary to the usual Pascua pattern. My contacts at Pascua were much less than Dr. Spicer's. I here report merely what I saw and was told. According to Sonoran patterns, the girl would represent the fiesteros, a group lacking at Pascua.

None of the ceremonies I saw were considered complete, having been cut off by rain or other ceremonies. In the funeral of the former *monarca*, the dancers returned from their other duties between 3 and 4 and repeated the above ceremonies once.

There is also a *padrino* (godparent) ceremony which Parsons missed. The relatives and numerous *padrinos* circle the corpse three times, each bearing a lighted candle. Each person kneels as he passes the right hand and utters a brief prayer. This occurs about 12 midnight and again around 4. In one case, the wife of the deceased went into a violent fit of hysterics lasting for nearly half an hour after the second ceremony. At intervals the maestro and singers pray and chant lengthily. Often the chief mourners kneel at the foot of the bier while this is done. The dancers, maestros, and singers are usually fed by the householders.

Near morning, final farewells are said by friends and relatives and offerings are laid with the corpse, principally cloth and clothing. The maestro sprinkles water on the corpse and speaks the service for the dead. At the graveyard the service is usually repeated before the body is placed in the grave. Each person picks up a handful of earth, makes the sign of the cross before his mouth with it, and throws the earth in the grave. The godparents and friends fill in the grave and candles are lighted on it.

The funeral of a kobaná'u is attended by the entire village. The *velación* is held in the church instead of his home. The other kobaná'u and the soldiers take him to church.

Pascola and deer dancers and musicians receive no special attention at death or after, although my notes speak of the matachini dancing for the *velación* of a pascola dancer. He may have been related to a matachini. The mask or other equipment is not buried but is kept by the widow, who loans or gives it to other dancers or musicians who lack equipment.

People who die on a campaign or in battle receive different treatment. Those who die in the mountains are burned. The body is laid on a pile of wood. After the pyre is ignited it is left. Three days later the spot is revisited and if any of the body is still not consumed, the burning is continued. The bones and ashes are buried on the spot. If a person is killed near the village, he is buried where he fell. This came out clearly at Vicam, where there is a grave marked by a large cross within a hundred yards of the cemetery. The man was shot in 1929, virtually in his door yard, and was buried on the spot. A large incense burner adorned his grave as well as a massive wooden cross. Special vows for the dead are apparently taken by whole villages. Bacun and Cocorit have observed one jointly for 3 years (1932), holding an annual fiesta for the dead killed in the 1929 campaign.

The graves are usually oriented with feet toward the church, but graves not directly before the church have the feet toward the others, not toward the church. As most of the churches are oriented to the rising sun, the heads of most graves are east. At Pitahaya the graves are ornamented by designs in shells, most of them placed at random, but a five-point star was figured on one. These are said to be made by brothers of the deceased. On several graves were observed coyote (or dog) skulls. The significance of this could not be learned, as it seemed unfamiliar to all my informants, who were from other towns.

The dead who die when aged are said to be able to return as children. The informants had never heard of the dead returning as animals. After his death, a clown of Cocorit was frequently seen running through the woods with his mask on and carrying his sticks, "although it was not the time of the fariseos."

One informant insisted the name of the dead was formerly taboo and brought ill luck. The person speaking it would die; "mókia agómtia kátu aunóka (it is not good to speak the name of the dead)." All other informants denied the belief.

The names of all the dead are written down on paper or in books for the relatives by the maestros. These lists are taken to church every Sunday and prayers said for them. They are called the *ánimas.* They are also taken to fiestas and are given to the maestro on the Day of the Dead.[25]

On All Saints Day, the maestros, each with a sacristan as well as the kopáriam, go from house to house. On hanging shelves the householders place food which the dead are believed to come and eat. It is given to the maestro wherever he prays. He is also said to be given 5 pesos at such houses, a rather dubious story.[26] At night he arrives at church. The next day, All Souls Day, the pisca (fiscal) assembles the boys and takes them about to the different houses, ringing a bell. Each boy has a bag for alms. They sing and are given food. Afterward, they go to the church and pray and cross themselves. The food they take home and eat. The same day the maestro and the kopáriam pray before each cross in the cemetery. Food is taken there for them.

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[25] Again I am indebted to Dr. Spicer for amplification. He found the prayers for the dead extremely important at Pascua. The books are also mentioned by Holden (1936, p. 58). I have little doubt that the cult of the dead is much more important than my data would indicate. Roz Spicer, in her manuscript on Pascua ceremonies, suggests that the dead are regarded as an integral part of the community. While I have a feeling that this is an overstatement of the situation for the Sonora Yaqui and Mayo, it nevertheless offers a striking parallel to Pueblo attitudes toward the kachina who, it will be remembered, are in part regarded as spirits of the dead.

[26] Dr. Spicer writes that at Pascua there is a feeling that each family should give from 2 to 5 dollars. My doubt arose from the fact that 5 pesos is an enormous sum to the Sonora Yaqui; nevertheless, it may well be the ideal.

BEHAVIORS, ATTITUDES, AND MANNERISMS

The general behavior of the Mayo is similar in some respects to that of the Mexican population, and is probably growing more so. The general attitudes governing sex relations show a distinct shift in the direction of Mexican patterns. Nevertheless, relations between husband and wife seem fairly permanent and there is much less philandering than among the Mexicans. The couples with whom I came in contact had all been married a long time, but it may have been pure accident that I did not come in touch with impermanent unions. Still, the present attitudes harmonize with earlier observations regarding Cáhita character.

There attaches to the Mayo and still more to the Yaqui some reputation for homosexuality. I saw several cases of affectionate and sometimes almost effeminate relations between men, but they were not of a nature which necessarily indicated homosexual practices or tendencies. It is not uncommon to see older men strolling through a village in conversation, with their arms about one another's shoulders, and, somewhat less commonly, younger men do the same. A Mayo woman informant asserted that relations between women occurred as well as relations between men, although she knew of no cases. She insisted transvestites occur only among the Mexicans.

The Mayo, and to a somewhat lesser extent, the Yaqui tend to be very conservative in their habits. This extends to hoarding articles of little intrinsic value which have been inherited from parents or grandparents. These are kept in the family chests and consist of such articles as musical instruments, weaving tools, and ornaments. There seems little sentimental value attached to these, for the owners invariably part with them at very slight prices.

In his dealings with strangers the Mayo is suspicious. Often he will not talk with them at all. Once acquainted, he is friendly and good-natured. There seems to survive little idea of giving food to visitors, and in this respect the Cáhita are much less hospitable than the Mexicans.

On the whole, the Cáhita seem governed by two conflicting sets of mores which make it difficult to generalize. The strongest are unquestionably the native traditions. The Cáhita are intensely religious and strongly attached to persons living in their own village; they distrust and dislike strangers, especially whites. On the other hand they are increasingly in contact with various types of whites—*hacendados*, hard-bitten rancheros, self-respecting small farmers, sly but affable traders and storekeepers, and, finally, hybrid town dwellers, bearing a superficial gloss of Mexican-European-American culture but understanding none of them and debasing all. The Indians most in contact with these groups are the least pleasant to deal with, less honest, following the moral standards of the lowest-class Mexicans. All are affected by them to some extent. As a group, the Cáhita are not consciously disorganized as yet, but in individuals the mixture of the two impulses has produced a good deal of stress and has had unsatisfactory results. In the few cases where the Indian has made his white contacts with better classes, with schools and teachers, the result has been excellent whether he has remained Indian in his mode of life or transferred himself wholly into the white culture.

A few customary mannerisms differentiate the Cáhita from the Mexican. There is no difference in most gestures or methods of pointing, but sitting positions are usually rather different. Both men and women among the Indians squat a great deal with the feet flat on the ground rather than balanced on the balls of the feet. The latter is sometimes done by Indian men also. Women most frequently sit on the ground, the knees before them but the legs bent back at the knee and to one side so the heel of the left foot will be by the right thigh (or the reverse; there is no consistency of direction). The pascola dancers have a fixed gesture for stopping the musicians should they start to play too soon. It is to push downward several times with the right hand, the palm parallel to the plane of the ground and about 12 inches from it. The foot is sometimes stamped to attract attention at the same time.

Handshaking is by just touching the fingers. Old people often precede the handshake by what may be the original Indian salutation, touching each other's left shoulder with the right hand before shaking hands. (This may, on the other hand, be a remnant of the Spanish embrace.) Evidently, the hearty handclasp of the European is repugnant.

Suicide seems always to have been common. Living informants testified to suicides over shame and for lover's or marital quarrels, hanging being the usual method.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Little memory of the political organization now remains among the Mayo. There is some recollection of a chief (kobanáro), but he is often confused with the religious head whereas, in the light of Yaqui data, he must have been different. The religious head today has the same name, kobanáro.[27] Among the Yaqui the title of the religious head is prefixed by teopo-, meaning "temple." The following Mayo material is a compilation of information remembered from the childhood of elderly people, or recollections of stories heard from the elders. Its reliability is enhanced by Yaqui data.

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[27] This may be derived from Spanish *gobernador*. On the other hand, as I have pointed out (Beals, 1943, p. 82) kóba means "head" and appears as part of the names of chiefs mentioned in early documents.

Each village had its own kobanáro and judge. The functions of the latter were not judicial despite his name; rather he executed sentences passed by the kobanáro. From Yaqui data, the judge may have been the war chief. Both officials were elected for life according to most informants. Others insist that the term was for but 5 years and it is possible that the villages differed in this respect. The kobanáro or judge could be removed from office if sufficiently unpopular, the populace assembling and escorting him out of town to the music of drums and flutes. The successor to a kobanáro was never chosen from the same family.

The kobanáro is obviously a missionized descendant of the pre-Spanish chief. He, too, was elected, and war valor, speech-making ability, and the prestige of his family were factors influencing his selection. The judge may likewise be a partial survivor of the chief's speaker, but the connection here is not so clear. In function he resembles rather the war chief of the Yaqui. The chief's connection with religion has an antecedent in that the chief formerly was often a powerful "wizard." The chief and the judge together used to deliver all invitations to fiestas in post-Spanish times.

The kobanáro dispensed justice and handled all external relations of the village. Hunting or fishing parties could not leave the village without his permission and then only for a specified number of days. If they did not return, the chief sent men out to bring them in, and they were punished. Women going to a white town or another pueblo to sell things also required the chief's permission. These women carried a stout stick as a weapon while out of the village. Visitors were required to secure the permission of the chief to enter the village. Whites were allowed only on business and were given an escort of two men to see that they stuck to their business and left town when it was over. Only Indians who had relatives in the village normally were admitted. If anyone sold anything he gave the money to the kobanáro to keep and had to ask him for it if he wished to buy anything. The purchase must have the kobanáro's approval. Food could not be sold without the kobanáro's permission and this was given only if the kobanáro satisfied himself that there was enough food in the village to feed everyone until the next harvest.

The most usual punishment dispensed seems to have been whipping. If two or three people complained to the kobanáro and he considered the complaints justified, he ordered the judge to arrest the man and whip him so many times. After the whipping a "doctor" was brought to the culprit.

Thieves were detected by witchcraft. The guilty person was caught out in the woods and hanged. His relatives were closely watched for a year and if they stole also, the whole family might be executed. Weapons were never used to kill thieves; they were always hanged.

The orders were always given by the kobanáro. This must have applied only to flagrant cases.

Murderers were treated in the same way. If the malefactor was from another village, unless he could be caught in the woods, the kobanáro notified the chief of the village, who was then supposed to inflict the punishment. (At a later time murderers were sent to the Mexican court at Alamos.)

Part of the chief's duties were the enforcement of rigid sexual restrictions. This subject is dealt with under Birth and under Marriage. The kobanáro had a female assistant whose sole duty was to guard the morals of the women of the village.

The punishment of children was in the home. If a boy did wrong, he was hung up with a rope and burned with maize husks. If the fault had been committed in the house, his hands were burned, but if outside the house, then his feet were burned, the theory being that in the latter case his feet, in bearing him to the spot where the wrong was committed, had more responsibility for it than his hands.

This type of organization had broken down by the time of Hrdlička's visit to the Mayo. He states that they had no tribal organization, although the elders had considerable influence in each village (Hrdlička, 1904, pp. 6, 60).

Among the Yaqui a definite tribal organization exists, although it is loose and relatively unimportant. The kobaná'u consult with one another constantly, and exchange information. In matters of tribal importance, majority action rules. There is a tribal chieftain, really a war captain, who is chosen at a tribal assembly. This is attended by the war captains and civil chiefs (kobaná'u) of each village (and today by the secretaries of the war captains), and all the people of the town where the meeting is held. The people are seated as at a village council. The visitors are not seated in any order of preference but in any place they wish on the benches to which their rank is assigned. The secretaries have a table near the bench of the war captains and write an account of the proceedings. At such a meeting, about 1924, Matus (originally of Vicam but resident now of Lencho), the present tribal chieftain, was chosen.[28] At the time of Matus' selection, the incumbent chief, Mori, and his village of Belen (Pitahaya) did not want to give up authority. The council sent soldiers to secure Mori. When he was brought before the council, it reduced him from the rank of a war captain to that of a common soldier, although the rank had been given by his own village. In spite of opposition to the installation of Matus, Mori is still merely a common soldier of infantry. The council also gave Mori 12 lashes.[29]

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[28] Pluma Blanca, the official head of the tribe, was installed by the Mexican Government. While in 1931–32 Matus rarely exercised overt authority, he was generally considered the real tribal chieftain, even by some of Pluma Blanca's most devoted men, who recognized Pluma Blanca's authority over them as war captain of Bacun, now Lencho.

Councils are also held for matters of tribal interest. One must be held for a decision for war although a declaration of war seems a foreign idea. Another was held on the question of the long-distance telephone line recently put through the Yaqui territory. Outsiders were allowed to appear before the council, which finally voted 5 to 3 in favor of permitting the new line, the three down-river towns of Belen, Huirivis, and Raun opposing. Despite the vote of the council, some difficulties occurred in building the line through the territory of the lower towns. The four down-river towns are said by the Yaqui themselves to be more bellicose.

Much modification of town government has evidently occurred in the last 30 years. Today the civil officials of each town are the "*12 principales*" consisting of the kobaná'u and 5 assistants and 6 pueblos (people). The pueblos are the kobaná'u and his assistants of the preceding year. Theoretically, each kobaná'u (the name is applied both to the head and to his 5 assistants) selects his successor, but actually the mode of selection is exactly like that for the fiesteros. The new chief (kobaná'u yowe) is named by the head maestro. The new chief then selects his first assistant (kobaná'u *segundo*, cukuláwe), who selects the third, and so on. The old *principales* supervise this selection. As the maestro plays an important part in the selection of military and religious officials as well, in effect he dominates every phase of town organization. Formerly, the maestro's functions were exercised by a special group, the elders or susuákame, essentially a religious group. (See p. 109.) The selection of new officers begins on December 15. Men are sought at their houses, and a man who does not wish to serve may be forced to do so. On January 6 the new officials are installed at a council (described below) and taken before the altar where they receive their *varas* (gobaná'u kúta, "governor stick").

According to one Torin informant, the position of kobaná'u was formerly semipermanent, lasting either until people became dissatisfied or the kobaná'u himself wished to be relieved. In this case the first assistant (kobaná'u *segundo*) succeeded unless he was powerfully opposed by the maestro. The third kobaná'u (according to this informant there were only three formerly) then advanced to the position of the second. The new kobaná'u, with the advice of his second and of the *principales*, then carefully selected a new third kobaná'u. The choice was submitted to a council of the susuákame and other major officials for approval.

Another type of official mentioned only by this informant was the *juez del campo*. In each distant rancho the kobaná'u selected an in-formal representative who kept the kobaná'u informed of all matters of importance such as disturbances, travelers, and suspicious activities. In most cases the *juez del campo* asked one or two neighbors to act as assistants and substitutes in case he was absent.

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[29] This account, by an eye witness from Lencho, might be interestingly modified by a representative from Belen.

In theory, all officials, including the heads of societies, should have two assistants, a second and third. These not only substituted for the head official in emergencies and succeeded him in case of retirement or death; they also acted to insure against any failure of duty on the part of the head. Should the latter fail in any way, the assistants would report the matter.

The *vara* is carried only by the six kobaná'u and the teópokobaná'u (church head). It is borne on all official occasions and in the church. Neither the principals or the kobaná'u have any authority over the teópokobaná'u or the yáucim or leaders of the soldier's society or vice versa, except that the yáucim and the *principales* together discuss the making of peace if there has been war. When retired from the pueblos, a civil official had no authority. He usually becomes a soldier again. None of the civil officials receives any pay, but the kobaná'u has two soldiers who work for him in his fields and whose families he must care for in return. He will not be asked to be kobaná'u again for 6 or 7 years. In the meantime he may take a soldier's office or join a society of dancers or clowns, and so become ineligible.

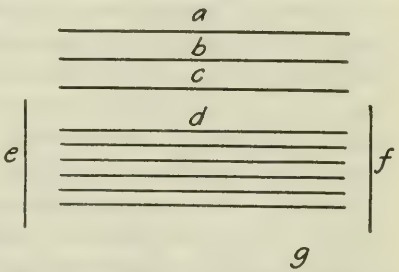

FIGURE 18.—Seating arrangements of the Yaqui village meeting, or *junta*. *a*, Officials of the soldiers. *b*, Kobaná'u. *c*, Pueblos. *d*, Soldiers. *e*, Church officials. *f*, Clowns or fariseos. *g*, Tenánces and women.

Council meetings are held in the *guardia*, or *cuartel*, the meeting house of the soldier's society. The arms are stacked at the rear of the ramada, usually the only walled portion. The officers of the soldiers sit on the first bench behind the kobaná'u's, who sit with the first kobaná'u on the left. The pueblos sit each facing the man who has his former office, the soldiers behind them. The matachini and church officials sit on one side, the clowns (*fariseos*) on the other, and the women and tenánces in one corner (fig. 18). The kobaná'u calls the nominated candidate an "intelligent man who knows how to pray" and who is not an officer in the soldier's society nor a member of any religious organization, such as the clown or matachin society.

The nominee is seated cross-legged on the ground, barefooted, and is cross-questioned as to whether he wants to be a kobaná'u. Anyone in the village, male or female, may speak or object. On the following day he is given his *vara* in church, and prays. He is told he has charge of Christ, i.e., the image in the church. The same is done for the five assistants.

The duties of the kobaná'u are to keep order in the town, punish crimes, go to church barefooted and with their canes each Sunday, and supervise community work, such as repairing or building a church. If anyone has an important thing to speak of, he usually addresses himself to the head of the pueblos, who takes it before the council of the *principales*. Outside the council meetings, each kobaná'u gives information to the one next highest in rank. The usual punishment is whipping, administered by the sixth assistant kobaná'u, sometimes called the alawási (*alguacil*). Formerly, the kobaná'u would have done nothing of importance without consulting the susuákame.

Men who beat their wives or who leave them are punished by whipping. For robbery, a person is tied to a cross before the *guardia* and whipped by a corporal. (It is possible that I have been mistaken and that this is the alawási mentioned above. One informant said he carried no *vara*, which would clearly indicate he is not a kobaná'u. But one of the pueblos stated that whipping was always by the sixth kobaná'u.) If a person is charged with robbery, a corporal and two soldiers bring him before the council of *principales*. If he denies the charge, an effort is made to find the true offender. "They always succeed because they know their own people." Then the guilty party is sentenced to a certain number of lashes, according to the offense. The kobaná'u gives the order to the war captain, who in turn informs the corporal. If the same offense is committed twice, the offender is shot by the soldiers. Men are punished severely for adultery, and if a man has relations with an unmarried woman, he is forced to marry her. Women are never punished except for witchcraft or murder (except during Lent—see p. 114). The following are some extreme cases occurring fairly recently:

A woman of Vicam murdered her husband, cut the flesh off the bones, carried the flesh to the woods in a sack, and buried the bones under the kitchen floor. The woman and her son were arrested. As the husband was of Belen (Pitahaya), officials from there came to see that the woman didn't escape. The son was considered not guilty, but as he said, "What use is life as an orphan? Shoot me too," the soldiers obliged and shot them both. The same woman was reputed to have murdered another man in Phoenix, Ariz. "She had a mania for killing."

One informant had been present at the execution of a sorcerer at Bacun about 8 years ago. The sorcerer had killed one man. Then another fell sick. The latter dreamed of the sorcerer. The sorcerer was brought to the house and kept there under a guard of soldiers for 5 days until the sick man recovered. He was then taken out in the woods and placed in a cage of branches, shot once, and then burned in the cage. The soldiers stood around the edge of the woods and watched. When the burning was over, the remains were left, and the soldiers marched back to the village, being careful to use the same route returning as on their outgoing trip.

Another Yaqui account was more specific and covered methods said now to be abandoned. Theft within the village was rare, but if it occurred or there were other infractions of tribal law, the offender was tied up by his wrists to a post, his toes just touching the ground. The chief ordered five good blows inflicted on his back. He was then asked if he had a father or mother. If the correct answer was not given, the chief turned to the people who were assembled for the punishment. Unless they voted to punish the man no more, he was given five more blows, and the procedure repeated. This continued until the victim responded, "I have no father but God and no mother but the Virgin Mary (*No tengo padre más que Diós Santo y no tengo madre más que Maria Purisima*)," or the people interfered and caused his release.

If a person is leaving town for 2 or 3 days, he must seek the permission of the kobaná'u. Even if leaving for a shorter period, as a matter of safety it is considered well to inform one of the officials.

If there is community work to be performed, the *principales* direct the work after the kobaná'u has approved it. In case of church work, either the teópokobaná'u or the head maestro proposes the work.

There is some evidence that a system of communal labor obtains among the Yaqui comparable to what is found further south in Mexico. Under the heading of communal labor is the service of the church, particularly that of the maestros, pascola, deer dancer, and the singers and musicians. None of these is paid for his labor except in the division of food made after fiestas or, in the case of maestros and singers, the division of alms given to the church. Nevertheless, work is considered a duty which must be performed. Work on civic improvements of any sort, at present confined entirely to the work of the church, is considered in the same light. Whether one is asked to do work, contribute materials, or provide food for fiestas, the same obligation is considered to have been discharged. Outside of the specific religious functions, such as those of maestro, singers, dancers, and musicians, all other communal labor is ordered and supervised by the kobaná'u and his staff. They designate who shall work and how much and who shall contribute other things.

Informants were not altogether clear as to the extent to which this system is recognized and organized. One informant used the phrase, "tekílta hóriawi (the work that (they) do)." The root "tek" is undoubtedly the same as that in the word for work, "tekipanóa," and must have some relation to the communal labor systems (tekio) farther south in Mexico. Probably both the word and the system were introduced. Other informants insisted there was no special name applied to communal labor as opposed to individual labor.

RELIGION

IDEAS OF THE WORLD AND THE UNIVERSE

The cosmological and cosmogonical ideas of the Cáhita are derived almost completely from Christian theology. The Mayo's idea of the world and creation is merely a slightly confused version of the book of Genesis and the Old Testament. Perhaps other ideas exist; indeed, it would be peculiar if none had survived, but I did not happen to meet any individuals who held them. The world is no longer a place of wonder or awe in which the supernatural moves close to man. It is an ordered universe in the main, and while a jealous God may send misfortune, yet he sends it because of definite sins and he is propitiated more with an eye to the future life than to the present. The only exception is the attitude toward the woods and all things connected with them. (See p. 190.)

Modifications the Cáhita have indeed developed. The introduction of the idea of reincarnation is ingenious and may well be of aboriginal origin. A certain fatalism, too, has accompanied Christianity. Free will is not a Cáhita doctrine. "God commands all," said an old Mayo. "If one man kills another, it is the will of God." But presumably it is also the will of God that the murderer be punished, if possible. The vague ideas about ghosts have a slightly pre-Christian flavor (see p. 75) as do the attitudes toward curers and wizards.

In the main, however, the religion and ceremonials of the Cáhita are a blend of Catholicism and paganism with the former predominating. The blend evidently assumed its present form at least two centuries or more ago. This is indicated by the pronounced uniformity of the rituals over a large area, including not only the wide-flung Mayo villages but also those of the Yaqui.

The whites consider the Cáhita to be fanatically religious. This viewpoint has its outward show of truth but inwardly is incorrect. The Cáhita is fanatical in his observance of the forms of his religion; he is very sensitive to any disrespect or ridicule, but he does not feel deeply his religion as such; his emotional life is rarely touched beyond the reaction to spectacle and ritual. This last is more true of Mayo than of Yaqui.

However scrupulously the Mayo observes his religious rituals, contact soon creates the impression that religion is a husk of ceremonialism without any inner light of religious feeling. Perhaps this is an incorrect viewpoint based on lack of sufficient knowledge. Nevertheless, it seems inescapable. Not once did I meet a Mayo who seemed moved by any deep religious emotion. So long as the forms of religion are observed, he is satisfied. He makes his vows and performs his penances or duties because they are prescribed for given situations, not because of any deep emotional compulsion. Often, indeed, his attitude seems to reflect boredom rather than anything else. Mayo religion is an empty shell from which the kernel of vitality is lost and which must inevitably be blown away by the winds of modernism now stirring over the Sonora deserts. Already the number of clowns is diminishing significantly. On the other hand, the Yaqui evidently feel their religion much more strongly. There is in their harsh rituals a fervor and devotion which is lacking among the Mayo. And in conversation, God is ever present to the Yaqui. What he cannot understand, whether it be good or bad, is God's will; God understands.

MAYO RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

The present ceremonial and religious organization of the Mayo is almost independent of the Catholic Church. A priest might be called in to perform some particular rite on some special occasion, but in 6 months of residence I did not hear of a single instance. On Palm Sunday the banners of Christ and of San Juan are taken to the church of the whites, where they are "baptized" by the priest. The rest of the year the priest has no contact with the Indian's religious activities.

The church building is the center for Mayo ceremonial. Every Indian town has its church, usually built by the Indians and in all cases kept up by them. Although the Government has taken over the ownership of all such churches and has appointed Mexican caretakers, the duties of the latter are confined to locking and unlocking the doors. The Indians clean the church and make additions and alterations without permitting any interference by the Mexican minorities living in their towns.

The churches usually consist of a long single room with a sort of vestry leading off the altar (pl. 20, fig. 1). At Pueblo Viejo, San Pedro, Masiaca, Batacosa, and Tesia the churches are of this pattern and are built of either brick or adobe. At San Ignacio and Bacavachi the main room of the church is simply an earthen-roofed ramada, with wattled sides and one open end. The altar is within an adobe room at the closed end. This room is the only part kept locked when the church is not in use. The churches at Batacosa and Bacavachi are clearly on the sites of older buildings, probably of adobe. The cobblestone foundations are plainly visible. Before each church is set a large wooden cross which is variously called the cross of pardon or the great cross (*cruz mayor*). The churches at Pueblo Viejo, San Pedro, Tesia, and Masiaca are oriented eastward; at San Ignacio, south; at Bacavachi, north; at Batacosa, west.

The real head of the Indian church today is the kobanáro in each Indian town. He has final authority in all matters and is responsible for the proper observance of the ceremonies and fiestas.

The kobanáro is named by a council at which 6 or 10 older men are gathered together representing the various districts of the town and the surrounding territory. Probably more participate, since each district sends several representatives. It was difficult to secure a clear statement of the actual method followed. There appears to be no formality in the choice of these representatives. It is discussed in the village (*barrio*), but apparently anyone who wishes may attend the council. It is unlikely, however, that a young man or, indeed, anyone who was not recognized as having some following among the people would attend. Men, to be considered for the office of kobanáro, must be respected and have led virtuous lives.

The kobanáro theoretically holds his office for life or good behavior. M——————, of Navojoa, has held the office for 8 or 10 years (in 1931). Actually, the kobanáro may be removed from office by a council, but no case of removal could be remembered by informants.

The kobanáro may have assistants chosen in the same way, usually two or more who perform many of the duties of the kobanáro's office but who are under his orders. Some said there are five assistants, but evidently they were thinking of the ancient political governor. None of the church officials (except maestros and singers) receive any pay, but all the church funds pass through the kobanáro's hands, and it seems generally recognized and condoned that some should go into the kobanáro's pocket. (One informant said the kobanáro and his first assistants were paid, but this is contrary to majority statements.) The case of M—————— is instructive. He is said to have taken office a poor man. Now he has a good farm, livestock, wagons, and equipment. Recently, he moved from his ranch to a residence in the Mexican town across the river, a sign of considerable affluence (and of shifting into the non-Indian cultural milieu).

The son rarely succeeds to the kobanáro's office. Usually he is not old enough, for the kobanáro must be a man of mature years when he takes office. Moreover, there is a sentiment against succession.

The kobanáro's duties are primarily with the church and the saints. He keeps the keys to the church (unless the Mexican custodian is zealous), supervises repairs and improvements, and in many respects fills the office of sacristan, by which name he is sometimes called. He oversees the activities of the fiestero groups, composes differences, and may punish members for failure to perform their duties. He also deals with the maestros in matters connected with church services or fiestas. He formerly could have fiesteros tied to the *cruz mayor* before the church and whipped. He is said still to imprison them sometimes. He also is called upon to bring pascola dancers to account if they fail to behave properly at a fiesta. He or one of his assistants always accompanies the image of a saint when it is taken from the church. He is under no restrictions not applicable to the remainder of the people other than that his conduct is supposed to be on a rather higher plane. But he has no special fasts to observe as do the *fiesteros*. It is not even necessary for him to be at church on Sundays, providing he sends a suitable official to open the church at the proper hours, although his absence from a large fiesta would be criticized. However, he usually appears because Sunday is the day when the *fiesteros* hold their meetings to plan their activities and to bring together their cash contributions.

The permission of the kobanáro is necessary to remove the image of a saint from the church. If a householder wishes to have the image at his house for a fiesta, he asks the kobanáro for the proper officials, *fiesteros*, and matachini he wishes or needs, but he seeks his own pascola dancers and musicians.

Civil duties are said to have been exercised formerly by the kobanáro, but, in the light of the Yaqui data, it is evident that there was a civil official called by the same name.

The next most important official is the *sargento* (sergeant), more often called the judge, who is the direct leader of the fiesteros. He is named in the same way as the kobanáro, and he must be at the church every Sunday and at every fiesta. If he misses two consecutive Sundays, the question of a successor is discussed. According to one informant, he is changed every year, but in the informant's own town the same *sargento* held office in 1930, 1931, and 1932. The *sargento* instructs the *fiesteros* in their duties and accompanies them during all ceremonials. He indicates to them the proper movements and positions. The kobanáro and *sargento* carry special rods of office (*varas*).

The temásti or temastián (sacristan) is also appointed for life. His only duty seems to be the ringing of the church bells, but it is probable that formerly he had charge of giving religious instruction to the children.

A female assistant (kiriyá'te) launders the image's clothes and cleans the church. She is said also to be singer for the maestro, but this appears doubtful, particularly in connection with the Yaqui data. It is more likely she is a survival of the equivalent of the tenánce (Yaqui "kiyókti").

Sacristans (apart from the kobanáro) are remembered from the time when regular priests were in charge of the churches. That they are not identified with the temasti, is puzzling. Their tenure was for life. Possibly a group like the Yaqui susuákame once existed. A *fiscal* (fisca, pisca) attended to getting the children to church for religious instruction (cf. Yaqui).

The maestros and singers are paid semi-independent officials. They are hired for each appearance and have no permanent connection with the church. When there are priests, they act as assistants. At other times they pray and sing at the various ceremonies. Both maestros and singers are taught by older people in the same business. Maestros are supposed to be able to read and write but often cannot. In the *velación* of San José at Cohuirimpo, where three or four maestros were employed, a young man attempted to fill one of the secondary posts, but he became lost in the rather complicated series of responses. A somewhat older man dancing with the matachini was hastily summoned and supplied the responses if the other could not. In spite of being paid, the work of the maestros and singers is considered an obligation which they must fulfill.

The dancers and the *fariseos* are important in religious activities, but they can hardly be said to be a part of the formal organization. However, on the analogy of the Yaqui data, they are here so described.

MATACHINI

The matachini form a definite social group. Initiation results from the taking of a vow, usually as a result of some illness. Boys are sometimes promised by their mothers. Young boys are called *angelitos* and dance behind the monarca (dance leader). About Navojoa, they appear only from Holy Thursday until Easter Saturday. At San Ignacio they also dance on Christmas day. The promise to dance may be for 1, 2, or more years, but the individual remains a member of the group for life even though the obligation to dance may expire. It is exclusively a male organization except at Huperi and Echojoa, where women are also said to dance on the days of Espíritu Santo and Santísima Trinidad.

At Huperi, on the *novena* of Santísima Trinidad (Holy Trinity) a dozen or more grown girls wearing palm hats and white dresses and carrying feathered wands and small gourd rattles dance matachin to the left of the altar, while the men dance on the right. Each group is guarded by a *chicaton* (whip bearer).

For men, the dance costume and paraphernalia are simple. Regular shirt and trousers are worn but the feet are bare. A bandanna handkerchief is laid on the head and over this is fitted an elaborate crown of colored paper fastened to a light frame of cane (pls. 12, fig. 2; 13). Ornaments, especially small mirrors, are often added. In the right hand is held a wand with feathers (pl. 7, fig. 2; fig. 19) and in the left, a gourd rattle (pl. 12, fig. 3).

The matachini are ordered by a leader (kapétai, *capitán*), usually an elderly man who can no longer take part in the dancing. Some say he is elected by a group for life or until removal. Others say the leader is selected by the kobanáro and maestro, which agrees with

Yaqui data. He has two assistants, *chicatones* (whip bearers), also elected, who wear rawhide whips twined about their waists. They usually dance, as well as carry out the instructions of the leader. Finally, there are one or more *monarcas* (dance leaders), who are generally the best dancers.

Besides its public ceremonial functions, the organization takes charge of the funerals of its members. Members dance at the funeral and the corpse is buried wearing the crown, and with the wand and rattle of the dancers. The corpse is also decorated with flowers as in the case of the *angelito* (young child). The matachini do not actually handle the body, apparently. At the *velación* for the dead, they dance before the house. As for the other burials, some of the fiesteros are present with the banners of Christ and San Juan. The body is taken to the church before burial. Finally, they are expected to dance in the church on All Souls Day, November 2.

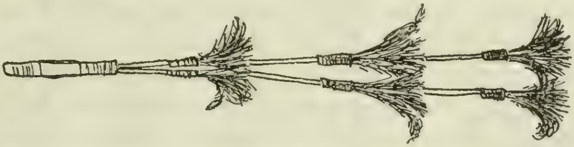

FIGURE 19.—Mayo matachin wand of split cane with feather tufts attached (Univ. Calif. Mus., Cat. 3, No. 3220).

The public ceremonial duties of the matachini at Navojoa are entirely associated with Christ and the Virgin. During Lent the matachini dance at the noon rest periods, at the night fiestas whenever they are asked to participate, and also on the Sábado de Glória (Easter Saturday). They do not, however, accompany the image on the rounds of the houses. At San Ignacio they appear to have taken over and to carry on the surviving remnants of the fiesta of San José (despite an informant's claim that there was formerly a fiestero group involved, it is entirely possible that the large fiesta formerly held was also conducted by the matachini), and they also dance 1 day at Christmas. In this place, the matachini are called Soldiers of San José. In other pueblos, the matachini appear at still other fiestas.

The matachini are rather definitely under the orders of their leaders and the *chicatones* (whip bearers), according to informants. The leader notifies the dancers to come, and keeps track of them. The only actual show of authority seen was a rather brusque order by a whip bearer to two young men, who were loitering over a drink of water, to hurry and rejoin the dancing, an order obeyed with ill grace. The dancers may not talk to sweethearts or women friends during ceremonial occasions, but they may speak to wives and mothers.

The actual dances of Navojoa and San Ignacio are essentially the same. However, the dancers of Navojoa seemed to dance with more spirit and the movements of the dance and the steps themselves were more pronounced. The matachini are said to dance *jarabes* and other conventional Spanish-Mexican dances, but with their own special manner.

In its general pattern, the most common dance appears to be a European square dance, although the method of handling the feet, always flat-footed, is probably Indian. The feather wand, held in the left hand, is used to indicate changes in the figures, either by dropping the tip down to the ground and then raising it up to the shoulder again (its usual position) or, when the dancer swirls, swinging the wand down and up to the opposite shoulder, returning it to the left shoulder on the reverse whirl. This whirling is usually an intermediate step between two primary figures.

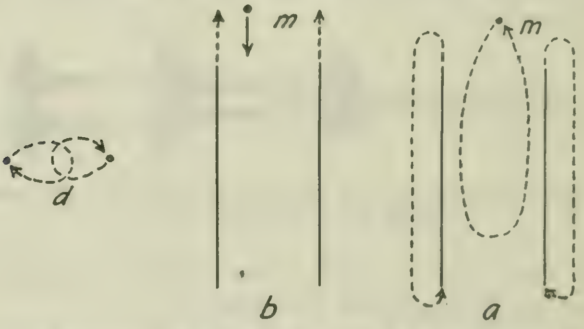

FIGURE 20.—Some figures in the Mayo matachin dance. *a*, Circling figure used in several dances of the matachini. *b*, Solid lines, original position of dancers with *monarca* at *m*. Broken lines show direction of movement of *monarca* and files of dancers. This movement is reversed after advancing about 20 feet. *d*, Dotted lines show path of paired dancers in one of more common figures.

In dancing, the matachini are arranged in two lines or files. The *monarca* dances in front and between these, sometimes facing the other dancers, sometimes with his back toward them. The *angelitos*, if they are dancing, dance between the two files or else follow the *monarca*.

It is difficult to give an absolutely clear or certainly accurate analysis of the steps and figures, but the first figure, performed at what is really no more than a walk, is for the two columns to turn outward and back, walking toward the rear and resuming their original position. The *monarca* walks to the rear between the two columns and returns again to his original position. This figure I have called for convenience *a*. Its path is diagrammed in figure 20. Between each figure *a* there is a whirl, *d*, also in a walking step. After each series of three, figure *b* was performed as well as the whirls. After three series of three, figure *b* became the dominant figure. Figure *b* is performed to a stamping step ending in a kicking of the foot forward, raising the knee at the same time. The files and the *monarca* move forward until the *monarca* about-faces and dances toward the files, which then move slowly backward. This in turn gives way to figure *c*, a complex series of movements distinctly reminiscent of the Virginia Reel (not diagrammed). While the *monarca* dances back and forth before the files, the files face each other and each pair goes through a series of circling movements. The approximate sequence of the figures is a simple whirl (ending in a dip practically to a kneeling position on one knee which precedes each series of figure *a*); figure *a*, repeat three times, whirl; *b*, whirl, repeat all three times; *b*, whirl, repeat three times; *a*, whirl, repeat all three times; *b* (with more pronounced stamp and kick), whirl, repeat six times, *a*, whirl, repeat all three times; *c*, whirl, *a*, whirl, repeat three times; *a*, whirl, three times, *b*, whirl, repeat all three times; *b*, whirl, three times, *a*, whirl, repeat all three times, continuing as above until *c*; then instead of *c* comes figure *a*, whirl, figure *b*, and the dance ends.

The stamp-and-kick step mentioned appears to be a movement in 3 done to a 4–4 rhythm as follows: 1, stamp one foot beside other (stationary) foot; 2, kick forward, sometimes hopping slightly on stationary foot; 3–4, return foot to ground back of stationary foot. This is done three times with one foot, then three times with the other. After dancing all night, the dancers sometimes did this step for long intervals without any figure accompanying.

A variation of this was witnessed on one occasion when the conventional figures were performed, but the dancers all hopped first several times on one foot, then several times on the other. This was said to be performed to a special tune by the musicians. Another variation came toward the end of a noon rest period during Lent when the *monarca* did a permutation, exchanging places for a short time with each of the dancers, starting with the head of the files and alternating between the two files. The dancers held the *monarca's* position for varying periods, depending on their skill and self-confidence. Only the stamping step was done and there were no figures other than an occasional whirl.

The dancers stand and shake their rattles in time to the music for a short period before beginning their dance. They also signal for the music to stop by all shaking their rattles violently.

The matachin dancers ordinarily do not practice as a group before their appearance. If a man does not know his steps, he may practice at home, securing the aid of someone who knows the routine. Fairly young boys sometimes take part in the matachin dances as well as girls up to the age of 15 or 16. Women do not participate. The musicians are paid by the fiesteros, who also choose the dance leader.

Two other important dances are performed by the matachini of San Ignacio and Navojoa. One is the mó·el or bird dance and the other the "sleepy" dance. In the former (never witnessed) the dancers form a large circle and dance vigorously, leaping about. The leader (*monarca*) dances with a small boy seated on the back of his neck. The boy is called mó·el from the name of a small bird, barred gray, white, and black, which gathers in large numbers about the day of San José and Easter and eats the wheat and vegetables. The dance is normally performed in the early morning and the leader refused to perform it at San Ignacio when dancing for San José in the evening because there were so many sleeping children he was afraid they would be stepped on. This objection would not have held in the morning.

The "sleepy" dance is normally performed about the same hour. As I saw it at San Ignacio, the dancers perform the conventional figures already described. On the completion of one of the major figures, the music suddenly stops and the dancers all drop on the ground on their stomachs, heads pillowed on their arms, facing the altar. The music begins again, very slowly but gradually quickening in tempo. At intervals the leader (*monarca*) raises his head from his arms and glances about. After the third time, he leaps to his feet, followed by the others, and the dance is resumed. After one figure *b*, the sleeping episode again occurs, being repeated in all three times. A little later the whole dance was repeated another three times with the variation that the second time the two file leaders remained "sleeping" until the third repetition, when they arose as usual. It is probable that there would have been a third series of three, but the dance was difficult because of the crowd. Moreover, the musicians failed to stop for the final series, and a *chicatón* interfered and stopped the entire dance. "Yetémpo yéya matacínim" was translated as, "The matachini are dancing the sleepy dance."

FARISEOS

The fariseos form a masked clown-police group functioning during Lent. This group is composed of individuals who have taken vows as the result of sickness. The period of service was variously given as one, two, three, or more years, and probably depends on the nature of the vow made by each one. Vows are made for a variety of reasons, among which the recovery from illness of oneself or a relative, the securing of good crops, or the saving of a crop suffering from drought or pest are the most common. There is no public announcement of such a vow, but the fact is usually known to the immediate family and friends. Probably it gets to be pretty well known as the time approaches for the fariseos to appear, since a common conversation topic is the number of fariseos to be expected each year. The individual who has taken the vow, however, does not talk about it much himself. When the time comes, he begins making his mask and his paraphernalia and joins the fariseos either on their first appearance or later.

The fariseo (Pharisee) to the Mayo is evidently not only a representation of the biblical Pharisee but of the Jew, or rather Judas. In addition, he is clearly an embodiment of evil; he is the incarnation of the devil, though, of course, not to be taken too seriously as such. Despite the opprobrium attached to these concepts, fariseos are considered guards for the fiesteros of Christ and for all the Lenten ceremonies and events. They accompany the alms-gathering trips with the images and help at the *velaciónes* and fiestas. On these trips they carry their own food, even though they may be ordered to do much of the work of preparing wood and bringing water to cook food for the others. They punish any evidence of sexual misconduct by spread-eagling the man, tying his arms to a lance passed behind his shoulders, and forcing him to stand before the altar for several hours. They do not bother the woman.

This latter function is explained by a story told by one informant which suggests pre-white antecedents for the organization:

> Before the world was made (see p. 216) a married couple lived together. The man worked a long way from home and when he went out to work, another man arrived and took his wife as his sweetheart. Someone told the husband, and the lover said to the wife, "I am not coming to your house again because of the danger. Meet me in such and such a place." At the appointed time the woman was there, but a devil [i. e., fariseo] took the form of her lover and appeared first. He took her to her husband, saying, "See, here I bring your wife. She was going with another man. But I did you this favor to bring her to you." Thus he guarded the family. In that the devils did not have guilt before this [present] religion was formed. For this reason the devils go with the fiesteros and guard all well. They see that no one goes out with a lover.

The number of fariseos appearing usually increases each Friday of Lent, ranging from perhaps 6 or 8 the first Friday to 20 or 30 on Easter Saturday. On Fridays, the fariseos assemble at the house of their leader at about 11 o'clock in the morning. They have previously dressed in their houses. They eat at the house of the leader, and shortly after noon they make a circuit of all the houses in the village as well as of the *rancherías* within a mile or so of the town. In part of Lent, they make extensive begging trips, usually in company with fiesteros but often alone.

On Easter Sunday the masks and sticks of the fariseos are burned and the fariseos are re-baptized in the church, being sprinkled with holy water by the maestro. The fariseo seeks in advance a godmother and godfather (they may already be in the godparent relation to him). When he is baptized, he gives them each a small bottle of mescal. This is drunk in church from a glass. Both godparents throw a glass of mescal on the floor of the church before drinking, saying, "vésata vátoi (to the health of the baptism)." They then drink, and afterward, invite others to drink.

Later in the day they give a *bolo* for the godson as is done for a child. Friends are invited to greet the godchild. Food and drink are provided, and one of the purposes of the function seems to be to help the godson to get thoroughly drunk.

During Lent, the fariseos bury all dead. The same is done by the moros (Moors) during the 6 weeks preceding San Juan's day.

After the Easter fiesta, the fariseos select a chief for the following year. Should the chief die in the interim, a new one is chosen on the first Friday of Lent. This chief (fariseo yáut) is unmasked and carries only a machete. He is not under a vow as are the others, and his authority over the fariseos is absolute. Once arrived at the house, the fariseos cannot leave without his permission. He forces the participation of those who have taken the vow. Often he carries a heavy whip as well as the machete, and should the fariseos become too disorderly, he has no hesitation in using it. He begs the hides and sheepskins used to make the masks although each fariseo makes his own mask at home. Meetings are always at the fariseo yáut's house.

Although it is true that usually the fariseo yáut wears no mask, at Navojoa in 1931 the chief wore full regalia, but frequently pushed his mask back so that his face showed. Unless they are paid, the chiefs ordinarily strictly oppose the photographing of either fariseos or their equipment, but they make no objections if they know the individual personally and are sure the pictures are not for commercial purposes. Failure to have made this perfectly clear resulted on one occasion in my being required to make a departure more hurried than dignified.

In addition to the chief, the fariseos have a boy who accompanies them with a drum, usually an old pascola drum painted in ridiculous fashion. He is usually a fariseo too young to wear the mask, but sometimes a masked man carries the drum.

The *pilato* (impersonator of Pontius Pilate) is sometimes spoken of as the chief of the fariseos. Evidently this applies only to the Easter Week events in which he takes part and for which the fariseos are called his soldiers. During this week as well as each Friday of Lent, the fariseos may not eat meat. (Catholic fast days are not observed by the populace in general.)

Pilate, whose only assistants among the Mayo are the fariseos, serves for 3 years and is chosen at an assembly like that which chooses a new kobanáro. In view of Yaqui data, he probably once had more authority.

The fariseos are masked and usually are dressed to some extent to burlesque the pascola dancer. The masks are made as terrifying as possible and at the same time ludicrous. They are usually made of goat or wild-pig skin. The hair is partly scraped off, but patches are left to represent beard or moustaches at the individual's whim and in accordance with the individual's ability. The features are painted in with some skill. Elaborate curvilinear decorations in green and red are added, especially on the ears and horns. Large ears flap at the sides and long horns of skin (a'wám, "deer horns"), project upward. A long nose (kóba mehé'il, "head forehead") projects from the "forehead." A group of small holes punched about the mouth of the mask serve to give the wearer some vision. From bottom to tip of the horns the masks frequently measure 2 feet or more in height (pl. 13). An old blanket is worn over the regular clothes, usually held together at the waist by a belt. The latter is often made in imitation of the coyoles (rattle belt) of the pascola dancer. Empty cartridge cases are the favorite articles for making the rattles.

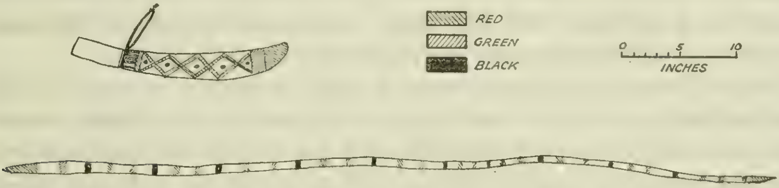

FIGURE 21.—Mayo clown sword and spear (Univ. Calif. Mus., Cat. 3, Nos. 3205, 3208).

Frequently cocoon rattles are worn on the legs. A wooden sword or machete (kúta machete) is carried on the right hand. A long wooden stick or spear (kúta bwáwi, "stick well polished"), painted with rings of red and green paint, is carried in the right hand (fig. 21). Some fariseos carry small crudely made rattles imitating the gourd rattles of the deer dancer or the rattle of the pascola dancer. Each carries a rosary of small beads to protect himself from bad demons in the sky who might cause body swelling (pls. 8, fig. 2; 11, fig. 2).

All these articles are carefully guarded by the fariseos. Not only do they refuse to sell any of them, but majority opinion is distinctly against making copies of them for sale. The specimens I purchased were specially made, except for one mask which was a failure and not being worn. The sellers insisted on complete secrecy.

While on duty, if the mask has been removed, the fariseos cover the lower part of the face with a bandanna handkerchief or an old piece of cloth. The head is also covered by a bandanna handkerchief or cloth even while masked. Fariseo actions are at all times intended to be ludicrous and are frequently obscene. Perhaps the most common behavior of this latter type is repeatedly treating the sword as a bottle, which is first filled in pantomime from the excretory organs of any convenient subject, animal or human, and then passed about the group of fariseos, who pretend to drink with great relish. They also pretend to be hurt, limp, fall down, stage mock fights, mount their spears as horses and shy from various objects as they gallop about, burlesque onlookers, and in the past were said frequently to become annoying by spilling water when they found someone carrying it or by indulging in other practical jokes. Children found imitating fariseos are carried off and forced to accompany the group for the day. If the fariseos from different towns encounter one another, they may fight and endeavor to take prisoners.

There is a good deal of individual variation in the way the fariseos enter into the horseplay. One young man at Bacavachi was subjected to much good-natured chaffing by his family because he was so serious and indulged in no tricks. Another fariseo seen at San Ignacio manifested a very prolific sense of humor. His pranks were frequently above the level of mere horseplay. His costume was unusually ludicrous. A battered old felt hat rested on the top of the mask with the horns projecting through two holes in the hat brim.

Despite some variations, most fariseo behavior is standardized and has many points of similarity with that of the Pueblo clowns. Fariseos imitate the actions of the fiesteros and dancers in burlesque, ridiculing the most sacred things. They are under enforced silence while masked. Everything possible is done with the left hand and backward. Certain gestures form a sort of sign language, such as:

Tapping machete on lance, attention.
Pointing with machete, look there.
Upward point motion with machete, go there.
Clapping machete and lance together longitudinally, it is over.
Passing two hands down torso, hunger.
Lowering left hand and forearm from vertical forward, thank you.
Holding out "ears," listening.
Making partly open circle with thumb and forefinger, derisive gesture of payment. To women it may be an indecent proposal. It is a common lower-class Mexican gesture.
Rubbing palms together, shaking head as if crying, the alms they have begged have been refused.
To take an offered gift the left hand is used, often extended behind the body.
The left hand is commanded by the devil.

Other activities may be briefly noted:

Imitating maestro reading from a book.
Imitating dancers, reversing as many actions as possible. For example, when imitating the matachini kick step, they kick backward instead of forward.

Taking flight at often inconsequential things.

Chasing women and children.

Showing interest in unusual things in ridiculous ways.

General burlesque, as pretending to shave one another.

Using machete as a flask, holding under anus of persons or animals, pretending to drink contents and showing signs of nausea or intoxication.

Making love to dolls or setting up dolls in altarlike enclosures, sometimes of cow dung. If the doll falls (by being pulled with attached cord), they flee wildly.

Pantomime of ululating with hand before mouth (only one instance seen of using this gesture).

If they receive food, they eat it in the woods where there are no people.

Squirrel skins are used to imitate the foxskin bags of the alawási (fiesteros). They are often wiped in dust or even filth, then rubbed over the faces of unwary bystanders.

The fariseos make the sign of the cross with the left hand and from right to left, saying (to themselves), "for the sign [right shoulder] of the holy cross [left shoulder] of our enemies [to the mouth] free us Lord [three touches of forehead] God [three touches on breast] knows [mouth; last three movements uncertain]." For usual prayer on crossing oneself, see page 190.

The fariseo, despite the nature of his pranks, is expected to observe personal good conduct, neither drinking nor swearing. To some extent he is limited in his contacts with women, and there is some suggestion that all sexual relations are barred. He apparently is under no unusual food restrictions. If he drinks alcoholic liquors during his period as a fariseo, it is believed that the mask will stick to his face and he will be unable to remove it. About 1929 a considerable sensation was caused by a fariseo at Bacobampo whose mask became stuck to his face as a result of this transgression. He shrieked with pain on any attempt to remove the mask. He received a great deal of sympathy and did a quite lucrative begging business until a sceptical Mexican *hacendado* used applications of warm water. This dissolved the mesquite gum with which the mask had been stuck on. Since then there has been an increase in the scepticism with which the whole belief is viewed, but the specific case is still being cited by some to prove that punishment befalls the evil-doing fariseo.

FIESTEROS

Basic to all ceremonials, yet scarcely an integral part of the church organization, are the fiesteros. Despite their close similarity in organization and function to *cofradía* and *mayordomía* groups elsewhere in Mexico, they do not occupy the high social position found among the Zapotec or Mixe. Although the organization is self-perpetuating and so to a degree independent, its activities are definitely controlled by the kobanáro and particularly by the *sargento* (first judge), whose duties are primarily the training and direction of the fiesteros. As this links them with the formal church heirarchy, their organization may properly be described here.

For each major fiesta given, such as Easter, San Juan, or Espíritu Santo, there is a separate group of fiesteros consisting of 12 men and 12 women. The men and women are divided as follows: 6 alperéz (*alférez*), 3 alawási, 3 parína; each group with a head (*mayor*). Both men and women have a head who is also the head alperéz. The second alperéz carries the banner of the saint in ceremonies. The alawási attend to the needs of the dancers in ceremonies and see that the musicians and dancers are fed. (Dancers also may have their own helpers who may also be called alawási.) Alawási wear a coyote- or fox-skin tobacco pouch, decked with ribbons, tucked under the belt (pl. 15). Staves are carried also. In general the alawási, particularly the women, are the youngest and best looking. The parína supervise the preparation of the food; they are assisted by volunteer helpers and relatives. The chief men and women fiesteros look after the entire fiesta and see that everyone, including dancers and musicians, does his part properly, and particularly they look after the young female fiesteras to see that nothing happens to them.

The alawási were said also to have the duty of engaging the musicians and dancers. These are visited individually in their houses and given native tobacco and a small coin as a retaining fee to bind the bargain.

Each fiestero wears a rosary decorated with ribbons. The *mayores* (heads of each group) carry staffs of hardwood with ribbons at the end. The end is of metal forming a cross within a circle. These staffs are highly prized and will not be sold. They are passed on at the end of the year. The men all wear red or blue bandanna handkerchiefs tied over the head. The head fiestero is an exception to all this in that he wears no insignia and takes no part in any of the ceremonies. He is occupied in preserving order in a more literal sense, and he usually is found near the dancers, giving directions to the dancers and musicians and keeping emulous drunkards off the dancing space. On one occasion he was himself quite drunk.

The leaders are in charge of all contributions toward the fiestas. They are also called the "owners" of the image. If the leader be a rich man and it is proved he has robbed or desecrated the saint in any way, he is required to stand all expenses of the next fiesta. This would, of course, be true of any rich man guilty of such an offense, but the head fiestero is much more likely to be involved in such a scandal because of his position.

The image of the saint is in the particular charge of the fiesteros for the year they are active. They attend to necessary services for the image, such as procuring new garments, purchasing new banners (the old banner is carefully preserved), and giving their fiestas, and they are represented at all funerals.

Each fiestero chooses his successor at the time he enters into active service as a fiestero. Usually he selects a friend, sometimes a relative. If a person accepts tobacco from the fiestero, he is bound also to accept the responsibility of the fiesta. The novice then is the object of special attention and two (or three) fiestas are given for him and his fellows, male and female. (The exact number of fiestas seems to differ, most informants counting three but usually describing only two. In the case of the San Juan fiesta, a small fiesta is given shortly after the induction of the fiesteros into active service on San Juan's day, but it may not be expressly for the promised fiesteros.) The first of the fiestas of which I am certain is the bahé'yi, or bahíto (to drink water or giving water to commence). Water, bread, and meat are fed to the new fiesteros, and they are given a quarter of beef or bull meat and other food to take home. During the bahíto, the men smoke around the table, lighting their cigarettes from coals in a basin on a pottery bull (see p. 140), while the women sit apart on mats. No one of the promised fiesteros is allowed to move without an old fiestero in attendance. The third fiesta is the hísimo. At the hísimo the new fiesteros do not figure importantly; the fiesta is regarded more as a training for the celebration of San Juan's day on June 24. This series of preparatory fiestas is given in the case of all the fiesta organizations on the Mayo River except that for the Holy Trinity in Huperi. For the latter, only one fiesta is given and each fiestero provides a *castillo* (fireworks tower) instead of the group providing one or two.

For both the preliminary fiestas and the main fiesta, all utensils such as plates, large cooking ollas, and baskets, must be provided new by the fiesteros. These are taken home after the fiesta by the promised fiesteros, who receive a new mat and food as well. Food is also given the dancers, musicians, kobanáro, *sargento*, maestros, and all other officials and helpers at the end of the fiesta. All who ask for food during the fiesta are fed after the promised fiesteros and the musicians and dancers have been fed.

At the main fiesta of the group, the new fiesteros on Saturday (or the first day) again smoke about the bull and the women sit on mats. They are fed formally as in the bahíto. The men on Sunday (or the second day) are given charge of the image of the saint. For the Easter fiesta, the women take charge of the Virgin. In the evening they are given the banner, staffs, tobacco pouches, and the fiesteros' special rosaries ornamented with ribbons. "Béhani entragáo (now they have passed it on)" is said of this occasion. They are also given a quarter of beef and other food to take home. The head fiestero gives his successor a new pottery bull to be used the following year (pl. 19, fig. 2; fig. 16, *e*).

After "receiving the fiesta," the new fiesteros in turn seek their successors. They must make contributions of money and other things needed, take out the image of the saint whenever it is required, seek alms, attend funerals, and attend to the details of the fiestas, providing food, young bulls for butchering, the *castillo*, *cahuetes*, new utensils, candles, payment for the dancers, musicians, maestros, and singers, and sheets and kerchiefs for the dancers. These duties are described in more detail in connection with the fiestas themselves.

Having passed on the fiesta, the ex-fiesteros are still under obligations to their successors and at each fiesta for a year must help them with food, *cahuetes*, and other contributions. This obligation ends with the big fiesta of the following year, making the total service a matter of 3 years. To the final fiesta of Christ (Easter), in 1932, the chief of the women at Navojoa for the previous year took her successor some stew, bread, two dozen small *cahuetes*, two large *cahuetes*, tobacco, and maize leaves. This completed all obligations.

During fiestas, someone under private obligation or a vow to the church carries and plays the fiesteros' drum. He is not a fiestero. To have been a fiestero involves certain permanent benefits in after life and forgiveness of all sins. The funerals of ex-fiesteros are more elaborate, and the chief of the women of Christ, for example, is buried dressed as the Virgin.

The fiesteros of Christ and San Juan sometimes aid one another by taking part in each other's ceremonies. In any case, enough are present to bring out the banners of both groups for the processions.

In addition to duties in connection with the fiestas, the fiesteros are supposed to attend church each Sunday, arriving about 10 in the morning. As a matter of fact, not all of them do this, but there are always a few at the church, which is kept open. It is also visited by some of the Indians, but the number who attend is small. Fiesteros must also take the image of their saint and their banner to all funerals.

The fiesteros were formerly under strict supervision. They were not allowed to drink and there were evidently other restrictions at one time. The nature of these I could not learn definitely except that they seemed to be no more than the liberal fasting rules observed by Latin American Catholics. The informants denied any special sexual restrictions for the fiesteros. If they broke any of the rules, drank, or failed to provide their share of supplies or candles or to perform an allotted task, they were severely punished. The most severe punishment was said to be to pour an infusion of *chiltipin* down the throat as a chastisement for drinking. The *chiltipin* of Sonora is a small wild berry which is more fiery than chile. At present the most severe punishment is to be tied to the cross before the church for a few hours by order of the kobanáro. This is evidently rare, as I heard of no case actually occurring. Nevertheless, there seems to be a healthy respect for the kobanáro and his orders. The fiestero may also be dropped from the band and someone else put in his place. The restriction on drinking evidently does not apply to the male chief of the fiesteros, but I never saw any of the other fiesteros take a drink or show the effects of drinking.

The fiesteros of Christ are under food restrictions throughout Lent. They cannot eat anything but greens and vegetable foods, and on Fridays they eat nothing until noon. No similar restrictions could be discovered for the fiesteros of San Juan. All fiesteros remove their rosaries to drink water.

Superficially, Mayo fiesteros appear to be related to the Spanish *mayordomía* organization. Nevertheless, the fiesteros may also be associated with a pre-Hispanic religious grouping. The use of what appear to be Indian names for two of the subgroups would suggest this. The term "alawási" is also sometimes used to refer to the entire group. The use of the tobacco pouch by the alawási and the emphasis on the native tobacco also suggests some aboriginal connection. The Yaqui teṛm for fiesteros, "pakóme," is known. The Yaqui phrase, "ítom páko ácaim (our fiesta fathers)," for the principal fiesteros is also highly suggestive of aboriginal antecedents.

The connection of the pascola and deer dancers with the religious organization is vague and will be discussed elsewhere.

YAQUI RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

The Yaqui have an elaborate and closely knit religious organization with three major divisions. There is first the church organization proper, which appears to be allied to the matachin dancers' society. This connection is expressed by the fact the matachini and the religious or church officers sit together in village councils. Next is the dancers' society, and thirdly is the fariseo (clown) society. In addition, the religious functions of the military society, the kobaná'u's, and the fiesta organizations should also be considered part of the religious organization proper.

THE CHURCH OFFICERS

The theoretical head of the entire religious organization is the teópokobaná'u (equivalent to Mayo kobanáro). Unlike his civil counterpart, he has no assistants of the same name, nor does he have the service of any of the soldiers in tilling his fields. His only support is his own labor, his pay from the Mexican Government, if he is enrolled as a soldier, and alms which are brought to the church. He is chosen in the same way as the civil governor (nominated by the head maestro), but he holds his position for life. It is usual to select an old matachin dancer for the position, and this probably explains the fact that he sits with the matachini at the councils. Instead of summoning a new teópokobaná'u to a village council to be installed, 5 days after the choice is made, the council assembles at his house, where it is seated in the same order as at the *guardia*. The procedure of the council is the same as at the installation of a kobaná'u. The teópokobaná'u is the only church official who carries a staff.

In theory, the teópokobaná'u has charge of all the officials of the church, although the maestro must exercise considerable authority. Indeed, some informants said the maestro commands the teópokobaná'u. The present functions of the maestro were formerly exercised by the susuákame (p. 109). The religious governor administers justice to individuals attached to the church and supervises church functions and activities. If offerings are brought to the church (such as a wagonload of watermelons), he divides them among the other officers. He takes no part in those sections of the fiesta which take place outside the church.

The maestros are an anomaly in the group of church officials.[30] Most of them know how to read and write, an ability rare until a few years ago. Some were trained by priests, but the majority were trained by other maestros. The oldest maestro exercises considerable authority. His successor is the next oldest maestro, usually his own protegé whom he has trained for the office since boyhood. When a student maestro knows the services, he selects girls of 10 or 12 and begins to train them to be his singers (kopáriam). When a maestro is ready to serve, the church governor calls on him at need. The oldest maestro nominates (really selects) the governors of the church and of the civil organization, the heads of the clown and dance societies, the head officers of the fiesta organizations, and has some say in naming the chief officers of the tenánce and temásti organizations, although the oldest woman or man usually is the head of the latter two. Neither maestros nor singers receive any pay, but they share in the alms brought to the church and receive a share of food left at the end of the fiestas. The maestros may be married. At Vicam Station, inhabited by people from Cocorit, there is only one maestro with seven singers, and one student maestro. This small number is unusual and is attributable to a partial dispersal of Cocorit people.

The temásti (sacristans) are life officers. They are usually vowed to the service by their parents and the number consequently is variable. Usually they are headed by the oldest of their number. They care for the images of the saints, "give food to the saints, the *copales*" (incense) (this probably refers to their carrying the censor and has an interesting suggestion of the "feeding" of fetiches among the Pueblos), ring the bells, run church errands, guard the candles, dig the graves, and teach the children to pray.

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[30] Dr. Spicer suggests they be regarded as the ceremonial society at the top of one religious hierarchy. This is a shrewd suggestion. Against it is the apparent lack of formal organization of the group and the possibility that many of their functions were formerly exercised by the susuákame.

The pisca (*fiscal*) is a life official, an old man, chosen from among the soldiers by the teópokobaná'u. He brings the children to church for the temastiánes, or sacristans, to teach. He stands at the *cruz mayor* and speaks to them also. He takes the children out and teaches them to work, to cut canes for houses, and keeps order among them. If there are many children, there may be more than one pisca. He seeks things lacking for the fiestas.

In war time the pisca and temásti take the children to church, where they all pray.

The tenánces (kiyókti) are considered church officials although they are really a women's religious society. The group should, perhaps, be correlated with the clown and dance societies of the men, although its organization and functions are more closely parallel to those of the temásti. The kiyókti carry censors in services and carry the images of the Virgin in processions. They wear a square red cap of peculiar form. Membership in the organization is for life. Like the temásti, they are dedicated to the organization while young by their parents. The oldest member is head of the kiyókti and succession is by age unless the maestro interferes.

All church service is directly or indirectly under the teópokobaná'u and the maestro. These two direct the work to be done by various members of the organization. Should a larger enterprise be planned, such as the repair or building of a church, they suggest it to the civil officials. If the latter approve, a council is called and the matter is discussed publicly. All men must work or make contributions of material. The work is directed by the civil governors.

In former times, probably at least as late as 1900, there existed a group known as the susuákame who exercised the directive functions of the maestro. The name appears to mean "those who know." (Compare inépo súak, "I know.") They clearly were the repositories of tradition and custom and were said to be spoken to by angels who instructed them at night. The group was self-perpetuating, sons or nephews being trained to take places in the group. They wore the hair long, spoke no Spanish, and should not leave the village. However, they worked at the usual occupations and crafts of the Yaqui.

The susuákame had two kinds of meetings. At the summons of the kobaná'u they met in the sacristy of the church and deliberated problems of the village. Apparently they determined the punishment of wrong doers after hearing witnesses. Complaints were made to the kobaná'u but he asked the advice of the susuákame. It was the special duty of the kobaná'u to watch, not only over the susuákame, but over their entire families, lest some disgruntled persons do them harm.

The present nominating functions of the maestro also belonged to the susuákame and their recommendations were sought in filling vacant offices.

These meetings were quite formal. One of the group was chosen as the superior. "Nóka ácai (you speak, father)," the superior would say to one. If this person did not wish to speak, he said, "Tóniko ókwe émpa nóka (excuse us, you speak)," and another began. When agreement had been reached, the bystanders said, "Diosencókoi ácailim (thanks be to God, fathers)."

The other type of gathering was in private houses, and was called a cuentam (cf. Spanish *cuento*, a tale). The susuákame sat and smoked good tobacco (papánta) rolled in maize husks. Here they would take turns recounting stories of things "before the Conquest." (For an example, see p. 223.) They knew the secret words of animals. When one had finished, the leader said, "Nulenhíva (thus it must be)," and the others would confirm by responding, "Tui." A deer dancer was always present and would dance between talks. These sessions sometimes lasted all night.

The data on the susuákame are very unsatisfactory. Jean Johnson, who did linguistic work among the Yaqui in 1940, came to the conclusion that the group may still exist in secret and that it is much feared. Johnson also believes that in general the power of the hierarchy is much greater than I have indicated. The similarity of the term to the name for the Huichol singing shaman, masa'akame, designated by Zingg as the most influential person in Huichol Society, suggests the nature and antiquity of the susuákame.[31]

A group whose status is far from clear is that of the children known as *angelitos*. Both boys and girls are presented to Pilate (see p. 112) for 3 years by their parents. The boys are dressed as girls. Some wear the red hat of the tenánces, others a wreath. All are armed with sticks or switches. During Lent, they are pursued to and from their homes by the fariseos, while their godmothers protect them. If they do not behave, under certain conditions they may be captured by the fariseos (Bogan, 1925, pp. 50–51). The children are under observation by the teópokobaná'u and kobaná'u; formerly, and perhaps today, if the child is intelligent, the parents may be asked to permit him to be instructed for some office. If the parents agree, the head maestro, the sacristan, or other official will train the child to serve in his office. Often the office is one once held by an ancestor of the child. I am not sure whether all children serve as *angelitos* or not, but I suspect most of them do. At Vicam Station in 1932 all the *angelitos* were being rigorously instructed in the chants at intervals during Easter week.

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[31] "The greatest of these [special persons in Huichol society] are the masa'akame who are the singing and prophecying shamans." (Zingg, 1938, p. xxix.) "The singing and prophecying shaman, the masa'akame, is the most important of these officials since he leads all the ceremonies by singing the sacred myths and thus getting into contact with the gods, who reveal to him their commands to the people." (Zingg, 1938, p. 187.)

Sometimes the dedication to Pilate is the result of sickness of the child. In this case, the service is regarded as the equivalent of wearing a saint's habit.

MATACHINI

The matachini are a society of dancers with special relations with the Virgin and the entire church organization. The head of the church, the teópokobaná'u, is usually selected from this body. There are a chief (yáut) and two assistants, who direct the group, and a *monarca* (chief dancer) with two assistants. In both cases the assistants are known as the "second" and "third," resembling the right and left hand men of the Pueblos. Normally, the "second" succeeds in office. Membership consists of persons who, as the result of illness, have made a vow to join the society. In the case of children, parents may dedicate a child if it is ill. Membership is for life, although the obligation to dance is cancelled with old age. Members may also be excused from dancing by the chief of the group. Those too old to dance become instructors of the younger members. They stand with a rod or cane during a performance and correct novices as they dance. Entrance into the society takes place at the fiesta of the Camino according to some; at any time, according to others.

The matachini dance at the funerals of all members and their immediate families. They dance again for the *novena* and for the commemoration ceremony at the end of one year. Matachini dance the evening before all fiestas in the church, on Sunday at the churches, and in the kónti, or procession, before each church every Sunday.

The actual dancing of the Yaqui matachini was not clearly or lengthily seen, so that it is impossible to give an analysis of the steps or figures. Essentially, the usual dance is the same as among the Mayo except that the steps are faster and the whole performance is characterized by a great deal more precision. The rattles are used harder, the steps are more decisive. One rarely sees poor dancers among the Yaqui, though they are the rule among the Mayo. The costume appears identical except for the wand, which is always three-pronged. In dancing, the dancers form two files, each headed by a *monarca segunda* while the *monarca* dances in the center in front of the two files. If *angelitos* are dancing (the young dancers who are learning), they dance behind the *monarca.* The Yaqui call these *malinches* rather than *angelitos.* At Cocorit (Vicam Station), the *monarcas* all wore special trousers, a sort of overtrouser of black velvet, split from thigh to bottom on the outer side. When not dancing these overtrousers were frequently gathered up and tucked between the legs to be out of the way.

The mó·el and the sleepy dance of the Mayo matachini are not known among the Yaqui. In some of the pueblos there is a maypole dance (wikópa'a) in which a selected group of matachini dance about a tall upright cane to which colored ribbons are attached. Those of Bacun dance in two opposing lines of six each with the *monarca* in the center by the pole, winding the ribbons about the pole. Those of Cocorit have six dancers in two opposing lines of three each, who wind their ribbons about the pole, while another group of six divided into two sections make their ribbons into braids without winding them about the pole. These dances are performed at sunrise. At Torin, Holden (1936, p. 49) reports a maypole dance performed at noon on Easter Saturday.

FARISEOS

The fariseos ("capaiyékas" is the more common Yaqui term) become members of their society as the result of a vow taken during illness.[32] The members must serve in masks (coúme) during Lent for at least 3 years, but membership in the organization is for life.

A varied group of officers accompanies the organization and there seems to be a supernumerary group which is composed of certain of Pilate's men who do not wear masks but who, nevertheless, belong to the society. The principal head is Pilate, but under him and really more important is the ítom costúmba yáut (our customs chief), who rules the masked clowns and probably the entire society. He is chosen at an assembly of fariseos, *caballeria*, and Pilate's men. He is a "man of many sympathies and one who knows the ceremonies." He is never masked, but carries a wooden broadsword, beautifully decorated. He always accompanies the maskers. On Easter Saturday he represents Herod and wears a crown. Other chiefs are kaifax (Kaifas, "the judge?") and Pilate. Most officers serve for life, including apparently some of the subordinates of Pilate. Some are offered for service as officers by their parents when young.

Pilate carries a beautifully decorated spear with a crosspiece below the head from which is hung a small garment like a dress. This changes color during Lent in accordance with the situation. Frequently there is a second Pilate, usually one who is young and is learning the duties of the office. Pilate and his men apparently function only during the last week of Lent. Pilate has a drummer, a flute player, several assistants called corporals and sergeants (usually fariseos who are unmarried and hence unable to wear the mask), and a cavalry and infantry armed with long wooden spears. The latter serve for 3 years as the result of a vow, and never mix with the fariseos. Except for the cavalry and infantry, all Pilate's men are dressed in black, wear round black hats, and a black veil over the lower part of the face. Subofficials called *caballeros* (corporals of Pilate) carry naked swords. They and the corporals and sergeants of the cavalry are a sort of police. The corporals of cavalry carry a sword scabbard, the sergeants a long spear. Pilate also has a captain (who wears a small mask with a large nose) and a lieutenant.

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[32] "Yéka" means nose; at Pascua "cápa" was translated as pointed or slender for Dr. Spicer. My informants were all poor at linguistic problems and offered no meaning.

The fariseos proper do not differ markedly in their behavior from the Mayo. Everything possible is done with the left hand, which belongs to the devil. The signs, buffoonry, and obscenities are entirely comparable. The dress is slightly different. The blanket is worn shorter, rarely much below the waist, and with a double cape effect on the shoulders. The belt is nearly always a deer-hoof rattle belt, frequently of exquisite workmanship in plaited leather of different colors. It is not burned as is the rest of the equipment. The Mayo wooden machete and lance are here machete and knife, the latter merely a light painted twig with some resemblance to a dagger. The decoration on the sticks is much better than among the Mayo. The masks differ considerably from Mayo masks in form, and show considerably more variety. The character of the painting, however, seems the same. The principal variant is a type lacking the nose but with a sort of snout. It is supposed to represent a bull. In all, the ears are larger and crescent-shaped, the horns negligible; both ears and horns are tipped with feathers.

Another type wears an anthropomorphic mask, frequently with an exaggerated long "human" nose, covered with white wool except for the face. It lacks the ears and horns of other masks and is frequently surmounted by a hat. Its wearers are dressed in an old overcoat instead of a blanket and their swords or machetes have a handle resembling a cane. They are called *viejos* (old ones). The only explanation given for the *viejos* was that anyone had the privilege to make the mask any way he wished. Nevertheless, the *viejos* obviously have some directive function. Possibly anyone who wished to make a *viejo* mask could do so and thus automatically acquire authority and leadership, but this appears out of keeping with the formalization of Yaqui organization.

The masks are kept at the church with the images of the saints when not in use. They are made at the beginning of Lent and are burned at the end (Easter Saturday) with the exception of two which are kept for use if a member of the society dies during the year. Masks are placed on the head of the corpse during the funeral but are burned, not buried. If not used during the year, the masks saved are burned the following Easter. The elaborately decorated spear head of Pilate is not burned either, although the rest of the spear is.

On the last three kónti, or Friday processions of Lent, the fariseos see that everyone in the village attends the church and procession barefooted, the women with heads uncovered, without jewelry, and the hair loose. Should a fariseo become drunk during Lent, his companions roll up his trousers and two run with him three times about the circuit of the stations of the cross, jabbing his legs and bare feet with their sticks.

After Ash Wednesday, at the beginning of Lent, the entire village is in the hands of the fariseos. The fariseo chief becomes chief of the village and the civil officials temporarily lose their authority. During this period all offenses are punished by the fariseos. During Lent a woman may be punished if found talking in the woods with a man other than her husband or, on certain days, if she even speaks to a man on the street or outside her own house. Two women were forced to carry the cross at Bacun in 1931. It was known they had "done wrong," although the specific offense was merely speaking to a man on the street on one of these days. The common punishment for all offenses is to force the offender to drag around the stations of the cross a heavy cross of mesquite wood which the fariseos make heavier by trying to ride on it. Others who pity the offender may try to help and are permitted to do so.

The fariseos' first meeting each year is on the first Friday of Lent. The regular meeting place is beside the church, usually a ramada at one side. New fariseos are inducted at this meeting. Each novice sits between two lines and is questioned as to his vow and is told the rules involved. He is told that when he is masked he must not cough, speak, or laugh, but carry the rosary in his mouth and pray.[33] A fariseo is then named as padrino (godfather) and one of the singers (kiyókti) as godmother. The novice is taken into the church, crosses himself, and prays. Later he himself seeks one or more godmothers for Easter Saturday. Each gives him a new silk scarf on this occasion and a new rosary. He may or may not have a godfather. If he has, the godfather is picked by one of the godmothers.

On the fifth Friday of Lent, the fariseos take complete charge of "Christ" from the soldiers and the latter have nothing to do with the Christ image until after Easter.[34] They accompany the image on its begging trips and beg themselves, accepting the alms with the left hand.

The society is exclusively a men's affair except at Bacun, where there is one woman member. She carries water to the fariseos.

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[33] Compare with the keeping of an arrowpoint in the mouth by the warriors in the Zuñi harvest festival (Stevenson, 1904, p. 213).

[34] This does not mean they actually handle the Christ image; they are guards in case of necessity and may punish infractions of rules, but at the same time they represent the evil forces, the Jews and Pharisees and soldiers of Pontius Pilate.

The fariseos bury all their own members and give the fiestas (*velaciónes*) customary to the status of the deceased. Fariseos also bury any person dying during Lent, giving the necessary fiestas (*velaciónes*). If an adult who dies during this period has a living father or uncle, the latter is forced to give fiestas for three successive anniversaries instead of one.

FIESTEROS

The officials of the fiesta (fiesteros) are 12 in number and consist of 3 groups of 4. First are the paskóme or pa'kóme (these terms are also applied to the entire group) consisting of the first captain (kápita yówe, pá'koyowe, or paskóme), the second captain (kápita *segundo*), the lieutenant, and the alpéz (*alférez*). The order is sometimes given differently with the second captain and the lieutenant both called alawási moro. The second captain (alawási moro) is in charge of the fiesta in the ramada; the lieutenant (alawási moro) is in charge of the food and its preparation. The alpéz carries the banner, while the first captain is in charge of the fiesta as a whole. The second 4 are the moros or servants who help carry food and water, the third 4 are the assistant moros or servants, helping the previous 4. Those in charge of the food are sometimes called páko áiwem. Ítom páko ácaim (our fiesta fathers), the heads are called. During the fiesta the first 4 (paskóme) have their heads covered with a handkerchief and carry a rod of office (*vara*) with a cross, a small version of the teópokobaná'u's staff. All except the lieutenant ride horses with coyoles (metal bells) about their necks and with cocoon rattles wound about their legs. A red ornament is placed on the horse's forehead.

The paskóme are chosen by their predecessors of the year before. The old paskóme go out at night, bearing their staffs, to the house of the man they have chosen as the kápita yówe, stop at the house cross, and call to the man. He comes out. If he accepts the office, he seats himself on a blanket spread at the foot of the cross. If he does not seat himself, they must seek elsewhere. If he seats himself, the head maestro, who accompanies the party and has actually designated the man chosen, makes him a speech, telling him the duties he must perform. If he says, "I will receive the *vara*," *cahuetes* are fired off and he is "bound" by being given food or a gallon or so of mescal. He is then spoken of as the godchild or godson of the man whose place he will eventually take. The new kápita yówe then designates the man he would like to have as the second captain, who is visited in the same way if the choice meets with the approval of the paskóme. The second captain then names the lieutenant and the lieutenant, the alpéz. When all are chosen and have accepted, they go to the house of the new kápita yówe and are given food, drink, cigarettes, and each fires off

12 *cahuetes.* After that they are free until the hísimo. In the meantime, the new paskóme select the first moro, who in turn selects his second; the second, the third; and so on. The new moros then select the first moro helper, who selects the second, and so on.

To be eligible for the office of fiestero, a man must be married. His wife then shares his duties. There is no separate woman's group as among the Mayo.

The hísuma is said to be the same as the Mayo bahíto; it is evidently a combination of that and the Mayo hísimo. Each old fiestero takes to his godson 4 *cajetes* or bowls, 4 little ollas, 12 pottery plates, and a trough of wood (hícikia), in which meat is ground. Meat is cooked with red chile and atole is made of flour with brown sugar. Each fiestero fills 1 bowl with meat, 1 olla with atole, and takes a little sack of bread and goes to the great cross "where they begin to make the fiesta with their staffs in their hands," the new fiesteros facing them. The old fiesteros begin to "sanctify" the new with the banner (make the cross with the banner over them), and say, "This which we bring you here (the food) is in order that you may receive this function with all your hearts. And with the favor of God you will arrive at the time to make this function the same as we and pass it on to other persons, and you will comply with all the devotions of the holy Church, and the corpses which you find." (The paskóme must *velar* all the dead, that is, attend all funerals, even though not summoned.) The new fiesteros answer, "Héwi, héwi (very good, very good)." All then shake hands, take up the utensils, and pass to the altar. A rosary is placed on each new fiestero. This is said to be a confirmation. The new fiesteros take an oath before the altar to perform the fiesta. The next day the function is ended after pascola and a deer dancer have danced all night. All are told to appear in 2 weeks when the big fiesta will be made. An alawási (the lieutenant) is left at a house nearby to receive the food and the contributions brought. Either at this time or later there is an assembly of the village to decide on the contributions to be made and who shall be helpers in the kitchen for the fiesta. The paskoyówe or (first captain) buys any food or supplies that are to be purchased. During these 15 days each fiestero shoots off 3 *cahuetes* each day.

On the first day of the fiesta, the new fiesteros must be present. They sit on mats before the altar, the old fiesteros facing them and burning candles to them. About 8 at night all assemble at the great cross, old and new, with the moros and helpers. There each new fiestero receives a drink of mescal or cognac in proof that he receives the obligation of the fiesta. Each old fiestero gives a bottle to the new kápita yówe (first captain) to drink, and after he has drunk, shoots a *cahuete.* Thus they pass down the whole line of the new fiesteros. All go in to the altar again, and the staffs are passed over to the new fiesteros and candles are burned to them. "The old fiesteros are almost out."

In the morning, in the case of the fiesteros of San Juan, the image of the saint is taken from the church, accompanied by the maestros and singers, and with the matachini, pascola, and a deer dancer dancing. The old fiesteros put the rosaries on the new ones again, and bakaváki and atole are eaten. The pottery bull is never used among the Yaqui in these ceremonies. The following year the old fiesteros conclude their obligation as among the Mayo, each giving his successor food at midday.

The fiestero organizations may be considered a type of society which is self-perpetuating, although its membership is in a state of flux from year to year. It is obvious that although the functions of these societies are religious, they are of a different order from the dance and clown societies.

Unlike the Mayo, it should be noted that some fiestas apparently do not have fiestero groups. Notable are the fiestas of Santa Isabel and Guadalupe in which the soldiers or the kobaná'us appear to perform the functions of the fiesteros. Closer knowledge, however, may modify this information.

THE INTEGRATION OF YAQUI ORGANIZATION

In contrast to that of the Mayo, Yaqui society is a closely knit whole in which each individual occupies a definite position with recognized obligations. In part, the position of the individual is defined in terms of organized groups, to one or more of which every individual belongs. Each of these organizations has well-recognized functions and occupies an easily defined relationship with other organizations. This extends beyond the limits of the purely religious structure, which is interrelated to and dominates the civil and military structure. To the Yaqui mind, this is clearly understood, and the interrelations of the various societies and the individual may be expressed diagrammatically (fig. 22). In this diagram also is indicated the direction of authority, showing clearly the way the maestros dominate the entire society.

This schematic presentation is no doubt idealized, but it is a native idealization. To what extent there is deviation from this ideal system, the role of individual variability and personality and dominance patterns, and what compromises are necessitated by such accidents as military uprisings, it was impossible to determine in the time at my disposal.

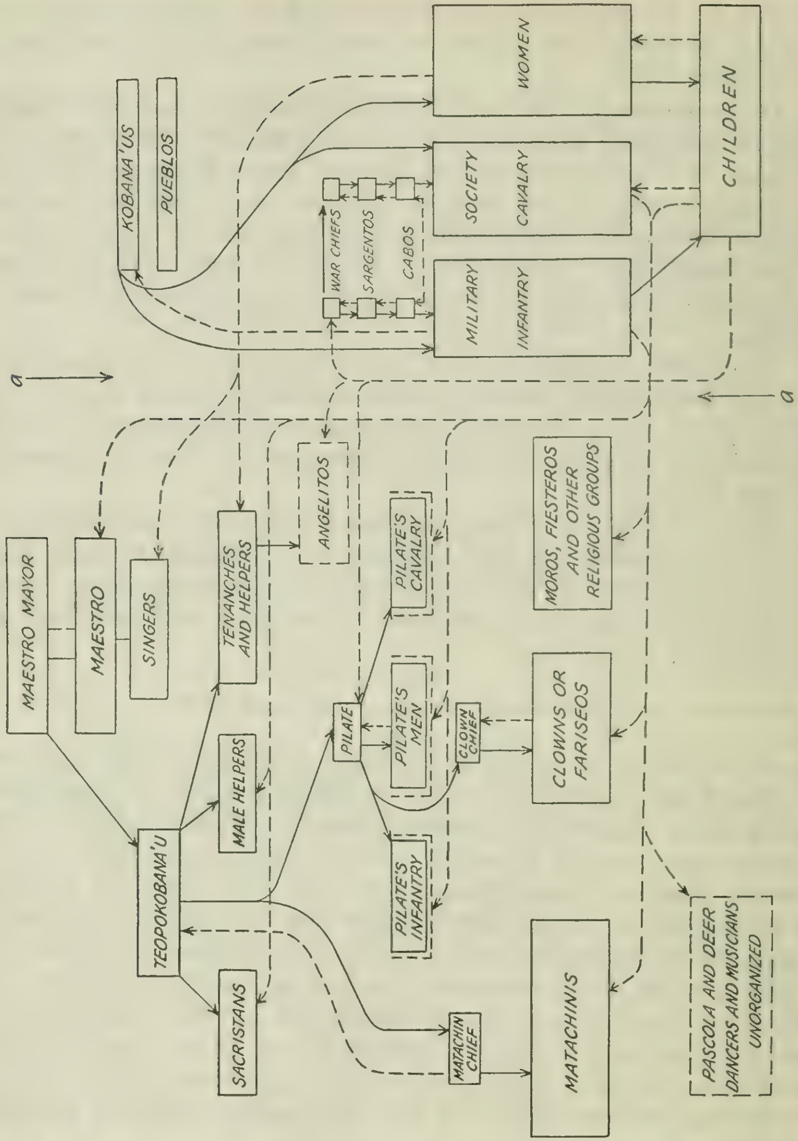
KOBANA'US
PUEBLOS
WOMEN
CHILDREN
SOCIETY
CAVALRY
MILITARY
INFANTRY
WAR CHIEFS
SARGENTOS
CABOS
a
a
MAESTRO MAYOR
MAESTRO
SINGERS
TENANCHES AND HELPERS
ANGELITOS
PILATE'S CAVALRY
MOROS, FIESTEROS AND OTHER RELIGIOUS GROUPS
PILATE
PILATE'S MEN
CLOWN CHIEF
CLOWNS OR FARISEOS
MALE HELPERS
TEOPOKOBANA'U
PILATE'S INFANTRY
SACRISTANS
MATACHIN CHIEF
MATACHINIS
PASCOLA AND DEER DANCERS AND MUSICIANS UNORGANIZED

FIGURE 22.—Chart of Yaqui Community Organization. Broken lines show more important steps and directions by which the individual may progress in the organization. Solid lines indicate the direction of authority in numerous instances, although the authority of the religious group over the civil and military group is not expressed in the diagram. Individuals holding any permanent position left of the line *a–a* may not hold any office on the right of the line. Groups with a broken line about them are either unorganized or membership is temporary. Details of the fiestero and San Juan religious groups are omitted.

MAYO FIESTA DANCERS AND MUSICIANS

The deer dancer and, in particular, the pascola dancers may be termed the fiesta dancers. If there are no pascola dancers, the event is not a fiesta; if there is a deer dancer as well, it is sure to be a big fiesta. The pascola dancers also perform at the funeral of a small child, which is considered a fiesta, and at the funerals and mourning ceremonies of certain adults. The deer dancer now appears only in the larger fiestas of the Mayo, but there is evidence that the dance formerly was part of some of the minor ceremonies as it is among the Yaqui.

Both sets of dancers learn from older dancers, usually from the time they are small boys. First, the dancer and the boy dance together in the house at night. Later, the boy may be taken with the older man and allowed to dance part of the time at some fiesta where the older man is dancing. Those who are courageous were said formerly to be instructed in the woods and perhaps still are. They are said to learn to dance better in that way, for the pascola dancers are "part of the religion of the woods." If the would-be dancer is frightened in the woods, then he dies soon. My informants believed there are some ceremonies involved, but they did not know them. Dancers are said to treat with the devil. This is also true of musicians.

The pascola dancers usually wear a flesh-colored jersey, although some still dance with the upper part of the body bare. A cotton sheet, furnished by the fiesteros or the giver of the fiesta, is wrapped about the legs and loins from waist to knee, giving the impression of a pair of peg-topped breeches. A sash is worn about the waist to support the garment and two strips of cloth go from the sash down to the knees across the front of the legs and are wrapped tightly around each leg just above the knee. Two 'kerchiefs, one tied about the waist, the other about the neck, are furnished by the fiesteros. About each leg is wound a long double string which has been sewn through a series of cocoons (tenóvares), the ends of which have been clipped off and the hollow filled with small pebbles or gravel. The feet are bare. The hair is tied up in a top knot and a paper flower is attached by one of the fiesteros. Coyóles are fastened about the waist, a leather belt with a dozen or so copper bells or spirals of metal dangling from leather strips (pl. 15). A *sonazo*, a curious rattle, made of wood, hollowed out beyond the handle and with several copper (or brass) disks fastened with a pin through each side of the opening, is carried in the hand or stuck in the belt in back, handle down. Usually, a string of beads with a crucifix is worn about the neck. A wooden mask either covers the face or is worn on the back of the head.

The pascola mask is carved of wood with grotesque human features. No two are identical, so far as I could observe, but the general features are the same (pl. 13). Some have teeth or tongue showing, while the shape of the mouth, nose, and eyes varies. The face is always black, lips and tongue red, and the teeth, if any, are white. About the edge of the mask are incised decorations which are filled in with white pigment. These decorations are usually made on the cheeks as well. Near the top is invariably carved at least one conventionalized cross, usually worked into the design. Occasionally pieces of abalone or pearl shell are inlaid on the mask. About an inch from the edge, inside the border design, a fringe of white horsehair about 4 inches long is attached. The ends are fastened by wooden pegs driven into holes drilled in the mask. Some also have moustaches and occasionally a long beard of white horsehair. The masks are held on by a cord passing through holes drilled on two sides of the mask and going around the head.

The pascola dancers perform two types of dances. One is to the music of violins and harp. A variety of tunes are played, but the dancing does not appear to vary. The dancers perform one at a time, usually facing and close to the musicians, the mask at the back of the head, the *sonazo* stuck in the belt. The body is stooped slightly forward, the arms hang loosely by the sides and slightly forward, the knees are slightly bent. The step looks very much like a variation of the European clog and may be derived from it. The basic rhythm is to strike the ground hard with one foot, hopping quickly twice on the same foot, then repeat with the other foot and continue alternating. The entire procedure is extremely rapid, making analysis difficult. There are also other variations, such as dragging the toe of the foot in a semicircle in front of the dancer while hopping on the other foot; extending the heel and dragging it back across the ground; a skipping step; jumping up and down on both feet; striking heel against ankle; and steps to the side. The better the dancer, the more variations are introduced and more noise is made by the cocoon rattles.

The other dance is to the music of the drum and flute. The mask is worn over the face. The *sonazo* is held in the right hand and beaten against the palm of the left hand in a complicated rhythm. The dancer again tends to face the musicians most of the time and adopts a more crouching position. There is some swaying of the hips and inclining of the body from side to side while birdlike motions are made with the head, down and up, and from side to side. The step is a slow flat-footed stamp with the heel raised and struck on the ground between steps without raising the toes from the ground. As before, the dancers perform one after another (pl. 16, fig. 1).

Characteristically, the dancing does not begin until after the music has played a few bars or more, gradually working up to the dance tempo. This is particularly pronounced with the drum and flute music, the beat dropping in tempo and into a different rhythm even when the dancers are changing places.[35]

After each pascola dancer has danced to both sets of stringed instruments, there is a rest period. During this the drummer tunes his drum, often interrupting some elaborate jesting performance which nevertheless continues, although often no one can hear what is being said. When the drummer has his drum tuned to satisfaction, he beats it in slow tempo while he warms up his flute. After a few preliminary squeaks, he begins playing. Once he gets the tune started, the tempo is gradually increased until it reaches breakneck speed. One of the dancers then pulls out his hand rattle, gives it a few shakes, striking it against the palm of his left hand, and takes a few steps. He then pulls his mask over his face and starts dancing in earnest. When he finishes, the next dancer starts in the same way. There is no pause in the music while this is going on. The last dancer ends the dance by taking a few slow steps hopping from one foot to the other directly before the drummer. The drummer corresponds with individual beats of the drum. If the drummer starts his music and for some reason it is desired to postpone the dancing, one of the dancers stamps on the ground with one foot before him and holds one hand palm down within about 2 feet of the ground and rotates his arm or makes a movement of pushing downward toward the ground.

The oldest dancer in the group is in charge during the fiesta. It is he who dances first and opens the fiesta with a formal entrance. This varies little for the large fiestas and the smaller ones, and is described later. He also takes the lead in the jokes and stories which are told between the dances. During the rest periods between dances, a running fire of conversation is kept up between the dancers and with the audience. The pascola language is often obscene in nature and would be highly resented from anyone else, but no resentment must be shown by the audience. If the dancer hears someone say that he has danced well, he will retort to the speaker, "That is because I slept with your wife last night." When he sees someone he knows, he may say, "How is my wife,————? or "How is my daughter,————?" naming the person's wife or daughter. He also addresses men and women by relationship terms as son, brother, wife, daughter, or mother-in-law. "See, the lazy one," he will say of some woman, "she does not give me food, she, my daughter, she left everything home." "Here is the seller of ourselves," he may say of the seller of *cebada*, a soft drink. "It is for this," said one informant, "that they call them pascola, because they respect no one, neither fiesteros nor honorable women.

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[35] Mexican Folkways, July 1938, has a good picture of the drummer.

For this the Virgin and Christ gave them permission." They also indulge in more formal joking among themselves, one dancer taking the lead and talking to another who answers with the proper question or simply by saying, "M-m-m-m," in a peculiar tone. When the point of the story or jest is reached, both say "M-m-m-m." The stories and jokes are frequently obscene, but sometimes deal with current affairs such as politics. Sometimes the jesting is simple horseplay. An example of the latter occurred on one occasion when a bystander asked for water. The supply in the dance ramada was exhausted, so the dancer started to call for water in both Spanish and Mayo. He shouted the word in all possible keys and was finally joined by all the dancers in one great shout of "Water!" which brought the fiestero with a bucket on the run. Despite this verbal license, the pascola are closely watched by the fiesteros and are not allowed to touch any woman, particularly a sweetheart or mistress. If they do, they are said to be condemned by the Virgin. (But their reputation for sexual license is considerable, nevertheless.) They are under no dietetic restrictions except that the fiesteros are supposed always to kill a bull to supply them with meat (not a steer or cow) and they are not supposed to drink more than is necessary for them to keep awake during the night. But a dancer's reputation depends as much on his ability to make the audience laugh as on his qualities as a dancer, and the audience is sharply critical of both phases of his activities.

A final duty of the pascola dancers is to give water and cigarettes (usually makúco and maize leaves) to whoever asks for them. This is true whenever they dance. The musicians may also pass out cigarettes. The water and cigarettes are furnished by those in charge of the fiesta.

The deer dancer dances at the same time the pascola dancers are dancing to the drum and flute, although not coinciding exactly. He does not costume himself until the music has started. His music is furnished by three or four singers singing the deer songs. One of the singers beats an inverted gourd floating in a wooden bowl of water set in the ground. The other two or three scrape notched rasping sticks, one end of which rests on a half gourd on the ground. The deer dancer wears a white kilt about the waist extending nearly to the knees. The upper part of the body is bare or covered with a flesh-colored jersey. The kilt, a small sheet, and two 'kerchiefs are furnished by the fiesteros. The deer dancer has cocoon rattles on his legs and a leather belt about his waist from which a hundred or more dew claws of deer dangle on strings. This is called gruhútisia (pl. 15). On his head is fastened a stuffed deer head (másokóbata), the horns adorned with paper flowers and streamers (pl. 13). He carries two large gourd rattles (aibósi), in his hands which are rattled continuously while he dances. He steps about slowly when dancing, imitating realistically the movements of a deer grazing and raising its head to look about. At intervals he rests a few moments. He never speaks and his mien is always serious. He does not smile. He ignores his audience. When the dance is over, he removes the deer head and sometimes his belt and usually leaves the dance place until it is time to dance again (pl. 17).

In the early morning hours, the pascola dancers and the deer dancers are said sometimes to indulge in a jesting hunting pantomime. The deer dancer sometimes hides among the audience and is hunted by the pascola dancers. Informants were very vague, the incident was not seen, and it is impossible to tell whether the elaborate pantomime of the Yaqui is practiced or not. A co'pára (raccoon) dance and an owl dance were mentioned but no details could be secured.

The deer dance is the only one which retains an obvious element of impersonation. In the past, evidently the pascola dancers also impersonated animals. On only one occasion did I see anything resembling an impersonation, when one of the older dancers gave a representation of a deer hunt, first mimicking the hunter, then the dogs, the fleeing deer, and finally the kill and death agony, groveling and writhing on the ground.

Formerly, there was also a coyote dance, probably similar to the Yaqui performance. The head and hide of the coyote was worn on the back, buzzard feathers upright across the forehead, a mirror on the forehead (the informant was uncertain of this; probably it was the abalone shell ornament of the Yaqui). Tenóvares and coyóles were worn. Dancing was to singing and rhythms of stick raps, and a water drum of slightly different form from that used for the deer dance.

The pascola and deer dancer have no special restrictions, dietetic or otherwise, except against excessive drinking during a fiesta. They are fed apart before dancing. They are also watched to prevent them from slipping into the brush with a woman during a fiesta. They are always paid. An alawási engages them, paying them a small fee and giving them tobacco at the time, and carrying off their equipment, which is returned to them at the beginning of the fiesta. The balance of the payment is made at the end of the fiesta and they are also given some of the surplus food. In case there is difficulty with them during the fiesta (for example, drunkenness), the fiesteros appeal to the kobanáro, who deals with them. This entire paragraph also applies to the musicians.

The musicians are an integral part of all dance performances. They play for the matachin, pascola, and deer dancers. They learn from an older person, beginning in childhood, or in the woods as do the dancers. They are paid in the same way, surrendering their instruments at the time of engagement. Their dress is ordinary except that they always wear a native-made straw hat during the fiestas to which a paper flower is affixed by an alawási. Women are sometimes harpists and violinists; I saw one woman harpist at Makocín.

For the matachini, a harpist and two to four violinists play. They perform a wide variety of tunes of Spanish-Mexican origin, such as *jarabes*, but with "voice of matachin." Possibly of more Indian origin are the tunes for the mó·el (bird dance) and the sleepy dance.

For the pascola at a small fiesta there are two violinists and a harpist and usually a drummer, though not always; for a large fiesta there are two sets of musicians playing stringed instruments and a drummer and flute player. In the latter case, the two groups playing stringed instruments sit opposite each other and alternate their playing. They play a variety of tunes with animal names, such as coyote, owl, and raccoon. The three named are played usually in the early morning when the coyote howls or when someone in the audience requests these particular tunes and makes a suitable cash present to the musicians. When the music ends, a definite closing phrase is played which is the same for all pieces.

When the players of stringed instruments have finished, the drummer begins. He sits at the edge of the dance place, on the ground, leaning against a plank or log set in the ground at a slight angle. Ordinarily, a mat or blanket is provided for him. The right leg is extended along the ground, the left is bent with the knee up, the foot resting on one side. The drum is upright on the curve of foot and ankle so formed. The wrist of the left hand rests on the upper side of the drum, the left elbow on the left knee, the flute in the left hand. The drum is played with a stick held in the right hand and on the face away from the player.

The drum rhythm works up in tempo and complication until the dancing starts when it shifts from a 2–2 rhythm to an extremely rapid combination of beats and rolls of which I was unable to detect the basic rhythm with certainty. The moment the dancing stops, the drum tempo drops immediately to the preliminary beat. The flute, played simultaneously, has a definite rather pleasing but plaintive melody in different rhythm from that of the drum. The pieces played also have animal names as kabai tósari (white horses), and tarocá'pa (a bird; Spanish name unknown to informants).

The musicians for the deer dancer are three or four in number. One plays the water drum, the others the notched rasping sticks. All sing the *venado* or deer songs in unison in rather low-pitched voices.

Ansekáne weyi	insaíla	béta	tayiwéya
Go, step	my younger brother	now, already	the sun is rising

tátá bétukuli	bitcáka séwa
traveling beneath the sun	throwing flowers on the way

yósi tewéyi memotúli macihékamki coicoitéweyi
with all your heart dancing how beautiful

Free translation.—Go, step, my little brother, now the sun is rising, traveling beneath the sun throwing flowers on the way while dancing with all your heart. How beautiful.

máso, máso, máso	**gówi**	**énci**	**háse**	**báppo ékimo**
Deer, deer, deer	coyote	you	is hunting	in the water place yourself

kácin	**énci yánake**
no	you will do harm

Free translation.—Deer, deer, deer, coyote is hunting you. Place yourself in the water. No harm will he do you.

The musicians and pascola dancers are subject to witchcraft. Witches may make them tired or cause pains in the legs. A charm of wild chile or *chiltipin* is worn by them to protect themselves. *Chiltipin* is also eaten by the dancers during the fiesta and the fiesteros are expected to have a supply on hand for dancers and various officials.

The pascola dancers formally open all fiestas. The oldest pascola dancer enters masked into the dance place. He is led "as though blind" by an alawási, each holding an end of a slender rod with the right hand. The pascola makes peculiar high-pitched cries, the "cry of the pascola." The stringed instruments play the kanária (no etymology), or hymn of the fiesta, as he enters. Usually, he first makes a circuit of a cross set near the dance place (the house cross for a small fiesta), then three circuits of the dance floor, all in anticlockwise direction, still led by the alawási. He is then taken to the saint or his altar to worship and asks permission to dance before him. When he kneels, he pushes the mask to the back of his head. He then goes to the cross. From a point nearby, he fires four *cahuetes* given him by the alawási. The pascola returns to the cross, masks, and is again led into the dance place. There he dances a few steps. With the stick (which the alawási has left with him) he makes four crosses on the ground, east, north, west or down river, and south. Each time he says a blessing and gives the peculiar cries of the pascola. The crosses are said to prevent evil from entering the dance place and to prevent bewitchment from making the dancers' legs become stiff or painful. He then turns to the musicians, puts his stick in the holes in the sounding board of the harp, and talks.

As the dancer makes the crosses and talks before the harp, he addresses both the crowd and the animals of the woods. He addresses the latter by name and also makes general remarks to the audience. He asks the animals how they are, whether they rose feeling well, and whether they have colds.

After having mentioned the wild animals, the dancer concludes his speech before the harp by saying, "Now I have no father nor mother nor relatives nor godparents nor wife nor family, and for this Holy Mary and Christ [or Saint John or whatever saint the fiesta is for] gave permission." He then gives the stick to the alawási and greets each musician, dancing a few steps before each one. He says, "*Buena dia, peon de nosotros. Ya cabo el tareo de nosotros* (Good day, our servant. Now is our duty done)." He greets the various officials of the fiesta, then all the people. He puts the stick up in the roof of the dance place and begins his joking with the audience and the serious dancing of the fiesta.

YAQUI FIESTA DANCERS AND MUSICIANS

The pascola and deer dancers are one center about which all Yaqui ceremonies revolve. The other center is either the saint or the corpse for whom the fiesta is given. The pascola dancer is dressed and dances very similarly to the Mayo dancer, although he is generally a better dancer. Instead of being swathed about the loins and thighs with a sheet, he wears a blanket in similar fashion. Normally, each dancer makes his own equipment. The mask is made of a wood called tocukwíor (*toro prieto*). The steps are not as vivacious as among the Mayo, there is less swaying of the body, and the position facing the musicians is less consistently held. The deer dancer wears a blanket which hangs below the knees and suggests Scotch kilts very strongly, replacing the similarly worn white sheet of the Mayo deer dancer. Otherwise his costume is the same. His dancing is infinitely better, however. His use of the gourd rattles is much more energetic, his pantomime more realistic. He moves about much more rapidly, giving great leaps to represent the deer frightened or sensing danger. Both pascola and deer dancers wear shell beads about their necks.

The dancers are usually trained by older dancers from the time they are small. This is true of the musicians also. However, the deer dance, at least, is sometimes learned by young men in groups. One young informant was visiting a house where the young man of the house was learning the deer dance. A bowl of cigarettes or tobacco was put in front of the musicians for the guests. One young man knew many deer songs and took the lead with the music while the host danced most of the time. The other young men either looked on or played and sang, learning the songs. Occasionally another danced when the host became tired.

The musicians learn in the same way as among the Mayo. The harps are sometimes smaller than the Mayo harp. The arrangement and number of musicians is similar except that the pascola among the Yaqui have only one set of the stringed instrument players. The deer musicians sing as well as play, and use the same water drum and the notched rasping sticks on gourd resonators.

The music for the pascola is said to be "pieces of the woods." They represent various animals and birds of the woods, the noises they make, and so on. A partial list follows:

kanárium and second kanárium, the first two pieces played.
tótoi yówe asóa, cock crow (?).
cicibóla, a bird.
kúkum, the doves.
góim, the coyotes.
coparáwe, the badger.
cukakála, the mangy dog.
baiwikícim, birds.
baikurim, a bird.
tosaicacakum, the heron; also a song.

The stringed music is sharper than that of the Mayo, and seems more clearly European. The deer musicians sing a long list of songs, which are said to be similar to those of the Mayo. A reading of a Mayo song secured was recognized as a deer song by two Yaqui informants. The Yaqui claim they sing more slowly than the Mayo.

Dancers and musicians also may learn magically by going to a cave in the red mountain (sikikáwi) near the upper river. If a man enters this cave, a big snake appears and swallows him; he must walk right into the snake's mouth. He is then ejected by the snake through the anus into the interior of the cave. This is a large room containing many animals and snakes. The benches in the room are made of snakes. About the walls hang all the things connected with the pascola and deer dancers, such as tenóvares, coyóles, *sonazo*, masks, deer heads, gourd rattles, violins, harps, drums, flutes, and rasping sticks, as well as the saddles, bridles, ropes, and other equipment of a cowboy. The man must not be afraid or look back but must walk to the end of the cave. There he meets a bigger snake, "king of all," which winds about him from the feet up until he is entirely wrapped in the snake. The snake then licks his face all over with its tongue. If the man is still unafraid, the snake releases him and leads him to the things hung on the wall of the cave. There he makes his choice according to whether he wishes to be a pascola, deer dancer, musician, or cowboy. When he takes this equipment he knows immediately what to do with it. The animals all say good-bye and the man may leave the cave. If a man becomes afraid at any time, he is transformed into one of the animals within the cave. Many who have entered this cave have never come out. Informants were specific that by entry into this cave one could not become a matachin, maestro, coyote dancer, wizard, or curer.

The entry of the pascola dancers at the beginning of a fiesta is similar to that of the Mayo, but the order of events appears slightly different. The eldest pascola enters the dance place masked and is led in three anticlockwise circuits of the space. He then puts his stick in the holes of the harp and talks to it, naming all the animals of the woods. Then he says, "Now, with the favor of God, we are going to dance." After this, he goes to a cross nearby and shoots three *cahuetes.* At a house fiesta during Lent there would be three crosses near the house where he would do this, according to informants. He then prays masked before the altar, makes three more circuits of the dance place, and marks a cross on the ground (with the stick by which he is led) in the four directions, first toward the rising sun, then north, west, and south, and finally marks a cross in the air above himself. At the crosses he says many things "which cannot be said in Spanish." Nor, may it be added, could informants give them in Yaqui. At the close of the fiesta, the pascola says good-bye to each musician by dancing a few steps in front of each one. Then they go with the image of the saint on a procession through six cane arches before the house. If it is a Lenten fiesta, they stop at a table on which the saint rests before departing on the begging trips. For other fiestas they go to the church. The pascola then return to the dance place to change their clothing. In the case of a Lenten fiesta, the fariseos each thank the dancers.

Behavior during the dancing is quite comparable to that of the Mayo. The jokes are directed much more pointedly at the deer dancer, who is not supposed to laugh or smile, although there is no penalty for so doing. The deer dancer at Vicam Viejo smiled several times and once or twice laughed. At Vicam Viejo, the eldest dancer called me his son and the younger dancers offered me cigarettes when they were passing them out. Elaborate jokes were made at my expense, but in perfect good humor. The deer dancer began after one pascola had danced to the music of the drum and flute.

The deer dancer at Vicam Viejo danced with much more vigor than did those seen among the Mayo and the movements were more distinctly mimetic. He frequently danced for some time moving only his body and arms. The gourds were rattled much more violently, usually about the knees, sometimes down by the ankles, using a wrist movement with palms of the hands up. At other times the dancer used a rotary motion instead of a side-to-side movement.

At the conclusion of the regular cycle, sometimes the dance ended; on other occasions the pascola began to howl. In the latter event, the deer dancer hastily "hid" in the crowd, followed by the oldest pascola, who imitated his every motion. The other two pascola then burlesqued his dance. Suddenly the deer dancer shook his rattles sharply and leaped into the dance space; the others fled. The deer dancer resumed his dancing, going about the dance floor in a circle, followed by the three pascola in single file, burlesquing the dance. When the deer dancer imitated the deer taking a drink from the water drum, the pascola threw themselves on the ground, sucked water from the basin, then jumped up and pursued some youngster until they sprayed him with the water from their mouths. When the deer dancer knelt and rubbed the muzzle of the deer head on his knee, the pascola helped each other to do the same thing with much yelling, sometimes falling flat in so doing. When the deer dancer made a downward swoop of his body while dancing, a pascola often fell flat. Then the others would try to help him up. This was an occasion for much obscenity in movement.

Sometimes the deer dancer made a leap into the air. The pascola attempted to imitate him, and forgot about the dance and tried to bump their heads on the roof of the ramada. The pascola's efforts to jump were often ludicrous. Sometimes one attempted to help the other; then both usually fell rolling on the ground. Finally, the deer dancer made a motion with his head, as though about to gore the pascola, who fled from the dance space, pursued by the deer dancer with a violent rattling of the gourds.

Between dances the deer head was placed on the ground before the musicians. The pascola made sudden motions as if to touch the head, sometimes sneaking up with great care, on other occasions jumping at it from a distance. They were repulsed by the deer dancer, who slapped them or tripped them as they ran, causing ridiculous posturings. At other times the deer dancer tickled the pascola with a stick, resulting in wild yells. On other occasions, the deer dancer picked up the deer head and touched an antler to the foot of the prostrate pascola. The latter pretended to be caught by the horn and made frantic appeals for assistance. The other pascola laughed at him, finally approached to help, and were caught in turn by foot or hand. Sometimes the deer dancer put the head on the head of a pascola, who then made loud noises of distress.

Some of the jests were long stories connected with the deer. For example, the oldest pascola began by saying he was not afraid of the deer. He then launched into a long description of a deer hunt, accompanied by considerable pantomime. He stalked the deer, and depicted the escape of the deer, long chases on horseback, and similar details. The whole story took perhaps 10 minutes to tell.

A special performance described by informants, but not seen, is the coporáwi (raccoon dance). The violins and harp play a special tune for this dance at about 4 in the morning. The rod with which the pascola is led at the beginning of the fiesta is laid across the shoulders of two of the dancers, who pretend they are oxen. The third pascola drives them and they plow the dance place in pantomime, the "oxen" dragging a cane behind them to represent the plow. The third pascola then sows seed in the dance place and drives the "oxen" out. He takes the drum from the drummer, sits down, and plays sleepily on the drum. He calls, "Wolf, wolf," and another pascola runs up on all fours. The newcomer has a tail of cane and pretends he is a dog. He lies down by the other and the two go to sleep, the "farmer" still tapping on the drum. The third pascola enters the dance place, smells about for tracks, and pretends to dig up and eat the seed. He goes behind the others and pretends to dig at their buttocks. They awaken and the dog is scolded. "Why have you slept? Why haven't you watched the fields? Don't you see this animal is eating all our seeds?" The "dog" rushes out and chases the "raccoon" about. The latter climbs one of the posts of the ramada and the dog returns to his master. After simulating typical canine actions, he lies down to sleep again. This is repeated three times. One of the moros (dance assistants) places a bow and arrow by the side of the "farmer." After the third incident, he picks it up and shoots the "raccoon," which falls off the post and pretends to be dead. Then all three go to the water drum and take out a couple of bottles of mescal hidden in the water. They and the deer dancer drink.

The "Play of the Deer" (inyoáwa?) now begins. During this dramatization, the pascola dancers call one another brothers. The youngest dancer goes to the deer musicians and begs of them the gourds and notched rasping sticks. He takes these to the oldest dancer. All three pascola play and sing. Then the deer musicians begin to talk to the dancers. "Would you like to camp here and hunt deer? It is a good place for deer," they say. The dancers reply, "Yes, in a couple of weeks we will return." "Well, here is a good water hole," say the musicians, indicating the water drum. They take a couple of bottles of mescal from the drum and give them to the pascola and the deer dancer. It is now they all start to get drunk.

Branches of mesquite are put up at the front posts of the ramada and on the forked post holding the water jar. The pascola dancers hide behind these branches. The deer dancer begins to dance. After the deer dancer completes three circuits of the dance place, the youngest pascola comes out of his hiding place, and cries, "Here is a track." The others shout to him to keep quiet. The deer dancer runs out of the dance place and down the line of arches in front (fig. 23, *d*). The youngest dancer follows, but drops his bow and arrows. The others seek him and find him crying, hunting for his arrows. "Why do you come on the hunt if you do not know how?" they say to him. They scold him vigorously.

Then all three hunt the deer tracks and follow down the line of arches. The pascola shoot some of the bystanders with blunt pointed arrows. The deer dancer goes around the cross beyond the line of arches and returns. At the second arch from the cross, the moro of the deer dancer sticks an arrow into his antlers. At the third arch, the deer dancer staggers; at the fourth arch, he falls down dead.

The pascola dancers follow; between the third and fourth arch they start looking for a water hole. The youngest insists there is a water hole there. Finally they start digging and find a bottle of mescal previously buried there. The bottle has a string about the neck so that it can be carried like a water bottle. The pascola all take a drink, then they pretend to find blood traces, and follow them excitedly until they find the "deer." One pascola pretends to be a burro and gets on all fours. A handkerchief or cloth is knotted about his neck to lead him by and the deer is placed on his back. One of the other dancers leads the "burro," another beats him with a stick. At the fifth arch, the pascola exchange places. At the sixth arch, the oldest pascola takes his turn as the "burro" and carries the deer into the dance place, where it is laid down. After some obscene antics, the "deer" is then skinned, the pascola arguing about the proper way to do it. The hide is sold, again with argument, to the pakóme (fiesteros). Should the latter insist on the skin's being cured, the blanket is dipped in water in the water drum and beaten by each dancer on the ramada posts, until "soft." The spectators are also struck with the wet blanket. If the spectators run they are pursued. When the condition of the "skin" is satisfactory, one of the dancers bends over and the "skin" is laid on his back and scraped with a length of cane. In return for the skin, the pascola also receive mescal.

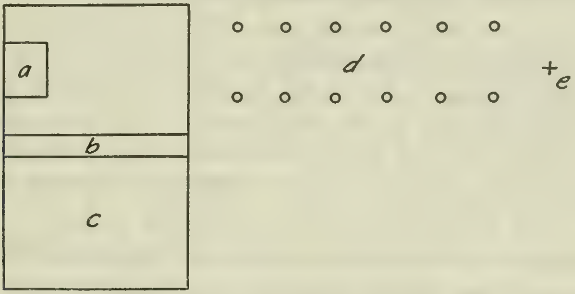

FIGURE 23.—Typical arrangement for household fiesta. *a*, Altar table for saint. *b*, Musicians. *c*, Dance place. *d*, Six arches of canes bent over and tied at the tops. *e*, House cross or special fiesta cross.

The deer hunt is the last performance of the fiesta. The image of the saint is now taken back to the church, and the pascola are fed after the maestros and singers have eaten.

The Play of the Deer is not performed for fiestas of the Virgin, San Juan, or Easter.

COYOTE DANCE

The coyote dance (gó'im yé'e) is danced by three men to the music of a drum. The war captains always dance first. Normally, all the soldiers dance in turn three times in the course of a fiesta. All three dancers wear the coyote skin-feather headdress (cóno) (see p. 52), and hold a bow in the left hand at an angle of 45 degrees, the lower end between the knees. The bow is struck with a length of cane split several times to within a few inches of the handle end. No other special equipment or dress is worn. While dancing, the posture is crouching with the knees bent. The step is a slow flat-footed stamp. When the drum is beaten in an irregular complicated rhythm, the performers dance backward, slowly retreating from the drum. Often, the dancers are not in unison. When they are about 6 or 8 feet from the drum, the tempo changes and the beats become steady and of equal value. The dancers then advance more rapidly than they retreated, straightening the body, tossing up their heads, and glancing over their shoulders in mimicry of the coyote until they reach the drum. The tempo changes again and the dancers again retreat.

The drummer is usually an old man with a special head band. He sings in a low tone into a small hole in the side of the drum. He holds the drum upright in his right hand, varying the tone by pressing on the drum heads with his thumb and fingers. The drum is similar to the pascola drum, but the stick has a round cloth-covered head. A variety of songs are sung, of which the following is a sample:

kṓni, kṓni, páku, páku, wéyi, kayéwisim, yéwisim.
(Crow, crow, outside, outside, he comes, not playing, playing.)

When the coyote dance is performed, all the kobaná'u of the pueblo sit with their staffs and watch it. The *kabos* (of the soldiers), wearing feather headdresses, hand out cigarettes to the watchers during pauses.

At the close of a fiesta where coyote is danced, when dawn appears each of the three dancers has a plate of meat placed before him halfway to the drum. Each one dances forward, picks up the plate in his teeth, and carries it to the drum where he puts it down.

The coyote dance is performed upon the death of all soldiers, kobaná'u, chiefs of the matachini, at the fiesta at the end of the year, and at certain large fiestas. At other large fiestas, such as on Easter Saturday, it is danced in the church for a short time by the war captains. It is not danced in connection with war directly.

MAYO FIESTAS

It may seem unnecessary to describe in any great detail the series of fiestas which are in large measure Christian. Nevertheless, although it is known that similar ceremonies occur in much of Mexico as well as in other parts of Spanish America, the present lack of descriptive data makes it impossible to determine what degree of uniformity exists. With adequate descriptive data, it should not only be easier to sift out the aboriginal characteristics in each case but to make an interesting study of the cultural processes involved in the history of spread, modification, and assimilation of the Catholic ritual.

The principal fiestas are those observed on saints' days. Minor fiestas are household affairs given under various circumstances, such as the fulfillment of a vow or the death of a child. Of the major fiestas, all towns on the Mayo River celebrate Easter Saturday and San Juan. Many fiestas have been abandoned. As not all towns were visited, it is possible the following list of fiestas on the Mayo River is incomplete. Special features of fiestas not noted elsewhere are given here:

San Ignacio de Tesia, Conicari and Camoa: San Juan, Easter.

Navojoa: San Juan, Easter. Abandoned fiestas of San José de Cohuirimpo and Navojoa (informant could not separate these by towns) are Corpus Christi, Santa Isabel, San Ignacio (the last would seem properly to belong to Tesia).

San José de Cohuirimpo (now San Ignacio, suburb of Navojoa): San Juan, Easter, San José (this is no longer a full fiesta, the fiestero group having been given up, but the matachini carry on with dancing, burning of candles, and a procession).

San Pedro: San Juan, Easter, San Pedro.

Echojoa: San Juan, Easter, Espíritu Santo (matachini dance for the latter, including girls who have taken a vow. They dance with sandals, sometimes with tenóvares or cocoon rattles).

Huperi: San Juan, Easter, Holy Trinity (matachini with women dancers, a *castillo* for each fiestero, no preliminary fiestas such as the bahíto or hísimo.)

Santa Cruz: San Juan, Easter. (Santa Cruz is practically abandoned. Most of its population lives in Huperi.)

Bacavachi: Easter, Virgin of the Rosary.

On the Fuerte River, no systematic effort was made to secure a calendar by towns, but the following fiestas were mentioned: Easter, San Juan, Pascua de Espíritu, Guadalupe, Candelario, Christmas Eve. (For the latter, the matachini make their principal appearance and dance from Christmas Eve until New Year. They go from house to house with a small image of Christ on a cushion and beg alms. When the image is brought to the house, the residents pray.)

The fiestas are described in detail later, but certain features of general occurrence may be discussed here. Each fiesta is given by a fiestero group of 12 men and 12 women. Except for the Santisima Trinidad or Holy Trinity (and possibly some fiestas given on the Fuerte River), two or three preliminary fiestas are given including the bahíto and hísimo. Each fiestero is supposed, at least theoretically, to kill a bull for each fiesta his group gives. There is some form of begging expedition extending over several weeks, and the image of the saint in whose honor the fiesta is being held is taken from house to house. The fiesteros must provide and pay for musicians, dancers, maestros, and singers, one or more large *castillos* (fireworks towers), new mats, cooking pots, eating dishes, and other equipment for each fiesta. Most of the expenses are met by the alms collected. Food left over at the fiestas is given first to people who ask to be fed; it is then divided among musicians, dancers, kobanáro, *sargento*, maestros, the various fiesta officials, and the fiesteros pledged for the following year. All fiestas, whether large or small, are characterized by certain formal behavior on the part of the oldest pascola dancer. (See p. 125.)

The end of a fiesta is relatively fixed routine. The fiesteros, headed by their leaders, stand in the dance place and face the officials, headed by the oldest pascola. The musicians play again the kanária or hymn of the fiesta. The fiestero leader asks pardon for all that may have been done wrong during the fiesta. The pascola leader then addresses the fiesteros: "We are ashamed, but you gave us permission. Now I have father, mother, relatives, etc. . . . Give us pardon. You are not going to lose anything. You are well with the Virgin and Christ [or whatever saint is honored]. Yonder they are going to receive you in heaven when you die."

"It is for this," said an informant, "the fiesteros do not mind the work and expense of the fiesta."

Of the fiestas on the Mayo River, those of San Juan Bautista seem the most important. Not only are they the most numerous and elaborate, but they loom largest in the native mind. There is, of course, individual variation in attitudes. As one Mayo expressed it, some like Christ better, others like San Juan. Why San Juan above all other saints should play such an important part in the religion, I have been unable to discover. Undoubtedly, the historical reason would be of considerable interest as throwing light not only on the Indian psychology, but on that of the early missionaries in Mexico.

SAN JUAN FIESTAS

There are four fiestas of San Juan held during the year: púti (Beginning or the Little One), bahíto or Middle of the Road (*Medio Camino*), hísimo or the Larger (*Grandisimo*), also called the fiesta of the banner of San Juan, and the fiesta of San Juan or the fiesta *Grande*. The alternate names of the first three fiestas are not translations of the Indian terms apparently. Bahíto, for example, I was told meant "giving them to eat and drink."

The four fiestas are said to be held on days when San Juan delivered some famous sermon or at least on some important event in his life, but this is probably a rationalization. All dates seem to be more or less approximate or ideal; actually, all fiestas except that of San Juan fall on a Saturday, and if necessary are postponed or advanced. One scheduled fiesta was postponed a week because it conflicted with a local election.

Púti is given about the 26th of July and is the first fiesta given by the new fiesteros for the year. It is a small fiesta and is considered in the nature of a practice performance for the new fiesteros. It seems to be a less elaborate version of the other fiestas. As it was not observed, it is not described in detail.

According to my informant, who in this case was the chief fiestero at Pueblo Viejo for 1930–31, the second fiesta is the bahíto, which should be given about January 24. However, in 1931, the hísimo was actually held January 11 and 12 before the bahíto. When this was pointed out to the informant, he did not seem in the least perturbed nor did he change the order or offer any explanation. The hísimo was observed in some detail and will be described as fully as possible, as it seems to serve as a type for the other fiestas. (Actually, it would require several people to record all details of a large fiesta. The accounts given in this paper are based on the fullest possible observation checked later with leading fiesteros.)

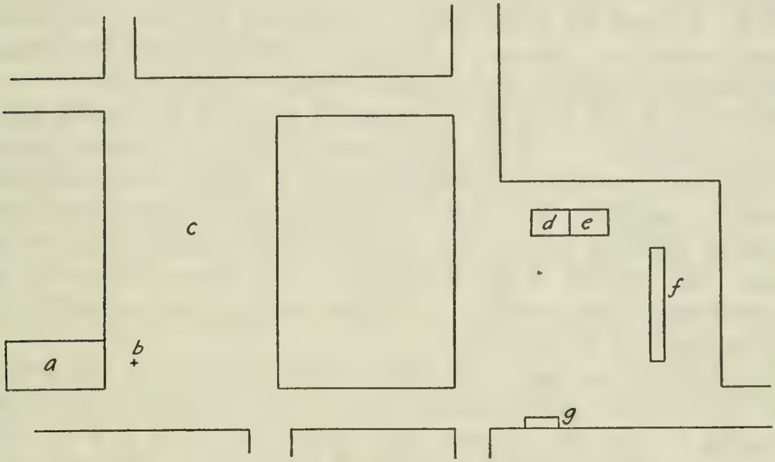

FIGURE 24.—Plan of church and plazas at Pueblo Viejo. *a*, Church. *b*, Cruz Mayor. *c*, Main plaza. *d*, Dance place or ramada. *e*, Fiesteros' ramada. *f*, Ceremonial cooking and eating place. *g*, Bower and table for saint. Distances from left to right have been shortened somewhat.

Preparations for the fiesta began rather early in the morning. Actually, of course, the cutting of wood, the preparation or securing of pots and other implements, and the purchase of food or arranging for it had been done before. By 12 o'clock numerous persons were under the fiesteros' ramada, or open shed (fig. 24, *e*). About the center post were hung most of the dance paraphernalia of the dancers and musicians, including cocoon rattles, masks, violins, and harps. The two harps were on the west side of the post with their bases facing the dance shed. Meat was hung on ropes between the poles and cooking fires were already lit outside the shed. Several people were asleep on mats under the shed. All during the afternoon, people arrived in wagons or with burros loaded with wood, ollas, food, and other things. By night, the ropes between the poles were covered with meat which must have represented the carcasses of several beeves and a number of sheep or goats (pl. 18, fig. 1).

About 3 o'clock in the afternoon, a cross about 4 feet high was set up facing the middle part of the dance shed and close to the southwest corner post of the fiestero shed. Hanging on it was a dirty *maguey*-fiber bag of makutco, native tobacco. Leaning against the south arm of the cross was the large metal-headed staff of the first judge (*sargento*). Against the other arm leaned the red banner of San Juan, its staff resting on a miniature chair about 4 inches high. The banner of Christ did not appear until somewhat later (pl. 19, fig. 1).

Before dark, the *castillo* was set up in front of the church and a guard placed by it. (At the other fiestas, the *castillo* was not erected until an hour or so before it was burned.) A lighted candle was kept beneath the *castillo*. The *castillo* is an elaborate fireworks piece, made by native artisans, and purchased by the fiesteros for all important fiestas. The success of the fiesta is to some extent judged by the elaborateness of the *castillo*. On Easter Sunday and on San Juan's Day, two *castillos* are burned.

The shrine of the Saint was set up in the dance plaza before dark also. The shrine consisted of a booth of cotton cloth stretched over a wooden framework. It was open toward the front and was decorated with a few green branches. A table decorated with paper flowers inside the booth formed the altar.

About 8 o'clock, the dancing began under the dance shed. Before this, the dancers and musicians had all been fed from a special vessel under or around the fiesteros' shed. The musicians' instruments were brought to the dance shed by the fiesteros. A young girl, one of the alawási, assisted by others, decorated the musicians and the dancers with paper flowers. The dancers dressed a little apart from the crowd behind the fiesteros' shed.

Shortly before 10 o'clock, the cross and the banner were moved from the ramada to a position in front of the shrine. These, together with the bag of makutco and the hats of the fiesteros, wrapped in a white cloth, were later carried along on the procession. About 10 o'clock, the fiestero drum was sounded before the Saint's shrine at the orders of the first judge. (The fiestero drum resembles that of the dancers except that it is of smaller diameter and considerably deeper. It is played with two sticks instead of one. The player is not a fiestero.)

After the drum was sounded, the fiesteros assembled in front of the shrine in two lines, the men in front, the women behind, faced by the first judge. The banner of San Juan was held in the middle of the front line, that of Christ to the right. Most of the time the bearer of the latter and his two or three companions stood a little out of the line at a slight angle to it. This symbolizes their membership in a different group, the fiesteros of Christ. The two groups always cooperate, however, by bringing out the banners for each other's fiestas. After a few minutes, the fiesteros were joined by the dancers and musicians.

At a signal from the first judge, the lines did a right face and marched in two files toward the church to the music of flute and drum. The fiestero drum was played, not the dancers' drum. Each fiestero carried a lighted candle.

In the main plaza an orchestra had been playing Mexican dance music since dark. It did not cease when the fiesteros arrived. Neither did the numerous drunken young Indians who wandered around and around the town arm in arm, singing Indian and Spanish songs in high falsetto voices and shouting, sometimes obscenely. The dance orchestra seemed to consist of a bass and a snare drummer and two or three violins. It was impossible to tell exactly because of the darkness.

Before the church, the procession divided. The majority went to the right of the cross and made three circuits of it. The alawási went to the left of the cross and also made three circuits. Re-forming the files, all entered the church.

In the church, a sermon was delivered by the maestro. There were prayers and songs. The dancers performed at length before the altar. Through all this the fiesteros stood in a line facing the altar somewhat back of the middle of the church.

When the dance was concluded, the image of San Juan was carried out of the church under a canopy. At the foot of the steps the fiesteros formed in two lines again with the Saint behind them, all facing the cross and the *castillo*. The dancers and musicians stood at one side. The church bells were rung and a number of *cahuetes* were fired, followed by several elaborate rockets of white manufacture. After a pause of a few minutes, the *castillo* was ignited.

For the majority of the crowd, the *castillo* was the event of the evening. Many Mexicans of all classes came from the Mexican town to see this. After the *castillo*, the crowd thinned out materially.

When the *castillo* had burned out, the fiesteros formed in files again and repeated their three circuits of the cross. The Saint's image was not carried about the cross. The musicians played during the circuit.

The procession then started back to the dance plaza: the fiesteros first with their lighted candles, then the dancers, then a very old man (probably the temásti) with a little bronze bell, then the image and the followers of the procession. Every 40 or 50 feet the old man rang his bell. The fiesteros about-faced and the procession halted. The dancers, to the accompaniment of music by the violins, flute, and drum, then did a few dance steps which were quite different in character from the regular dances. The dance was a slowish movement. One foot was put forward, then the other foot brought up to it. Following this, one foot was moved two steps forward, the dancers bobbed their heads toward the image of the Saint, reversed, and repeated this toward the fiesteros. The sequence was repeated three times. The procession advanced again as soon as the music stopped.

When the procession reached the shrine for the Saint, three circuits were made about the temporary cross before the shrine. The image of the Saint was then placed in the shrine and the fiesteros resumed their formation before the shrine. The old man with the bell then delivered a long prayer, ringing the bell he carried at intervals. When the bell sounded, both banners were waved with a rotary motion and each fiestero patted himself over the heart three times. At the conclusion of the prayer, the dancers and musicians entered the shrine two by two. The dancers each did a few steps before the altar. The dancers and musicians then departed to the dance shed, where the dancing was shortly resumed. In the meantime, the fiesteros went up to the altar in groups of six or eight. As each group reached the altar, the fiestero drum began to beat in a tempo much resembling the "roll" of our music. The tempo increased until the group left the altar, then the drum stopped. Each group advanced to the altar in accordance with a signal from the first judge, and returned to its original position.

When all had visited the altar, or rather the image of San Juan, the banners were furled and leaned against the cross. The *maguey*-fiber bag, which had been carried by the leader or first judge during the procession, was placed under the base of the staff of the banner of San Juan. At a signal, the fiesteros sat down, placed their candles on the ground in front of them, and chatted and smoked. About an hour later, the fiesteros returned to their ramada and ate. The image is returned to the church with a similar ceremony, usually around 10 in the morning.

During the procession and while the fiesteros ate, *cahuetes* and a number of heavy bombs were fired.

The official end of the fiesta was about 12 o'clock of the following day. After a short period of more than usually energetic dancing, one of the alawási offered native tobacco to everyone present. A small pottery bowl, frequently replenished, contained the tobacco.

The alawási also carried a large bundle of maize husks. The dancers stood about making remarks while this went on. After the tobacco distribution, they left abruptly and dressed.

The social aspects of the fiesta went on for some hours after this. The dancers became unusually drunk during this fiesta, and apparently continued drinking for some time. Some of them were still too drunk to transact business the following Tuesday.

Toward the end of the fiesta, there was some trouble with drunken Mexicans who wished to dance also. They were discouraged by a brawny Indian policeman with an antiquated rifle who, when necessary, forcibly ejected them from the dance space. Everything seemed to be done in good humor. Nevertheless, judging by accounts of other fiestas and a few slight incidents which occurred in the one described, it would have been extremely easy for a general fight to have started. The same fiesta was held at San Ignacio a week later.

The next fiesta of San Juan was the bahíto, which was held at Pueblo Viejo, March 7. It had previously been scheduled for February 28, but owing to a special election, the Mexican authorities would not issue a permit for Saturday, February 28. Consequently, it was decided to postpone the fiesta a week rather than start it on a Sunday. There seemed no religious feeling involved in holding the fiesta on a Sunday. The main objection was that it would continue into Monday when many people would have to leave to attend to their work. Essentially, the fiesta resembled the one previously described, but I secured more details in some instances and there were also some differences.

As before, the fiesteros began to assemble about noon, but the real ceremony did not begin until about sunset when the dancing started. Some of the fiesteros did not put on their regalia until later than this.

The general arrangement resembled that of the previous fiesta. An exception was that a table was placed before the cross beside the fiestero's ramada. On the table, facing the cross, stood a bull of pottery with a sort of cup on its back (pl. 19, fig. 2; fig. 16, *e*). When the cross was moved to the shrine of the Saint before the procession started, the table and the bull were moved into the northeast corner of the dance ramada.

The *castillo* was brought into the church about 8:30 p. m., accompanied by the musicians who played the dance music in the plaza. Several of the fiesteros carried the *castillo* up the road from the west, circled around the cross in front of the church, then went inside. There the *castillo* was rested on forked sticks while several of the fiesteros went into a small room to the north of the altar. On their return, after about 10 minutes, the *castillo* was carried out of the church again, passing to the south of the cross. The *castillo* was then raised and the fiesteros, accompanied by their drum, went on to the dance plaza. The other musicians remained in the main plaza, where they played almost continuously.

The procession took place in the same way as at the previous fiesta except that the fiesteros for the coming year also participated in it. When the procession arrived at the church, I observed the actual ceremonies within the church, which I did not do for the previous fiesta.

The fiesteros lined up in the church in their usual formation back of the two side doors. The dancers and musicians made a circuit of the church and prayed before each image. After this, various laymen prayed before some of the images. The image of San Juan was brought out before the altar. After a prayer, the dancers danced before the image. Then the entire group moved out of the church and the ceremonies went on as described for the previous ceremony of hísimo except that as the procession returned to the dance plaza, the music played continuously.

While the fiesteros sat before the shrine of the Saint, food was prepared by relatives of the fiesteros (pl. 20, fig. 2). When ready, the food was laid out in a long line east of the fiestero shed. Mats were first laid down in a long north and south line. Beside the mats to the west were set 12 huge bowls (*barriles*, or barrels, in Spanish terminology) containing stewed meat called bakaváki. Beside each bowl was a small pot of coffee and a few cups, usually one to each pot. On the mat was placed a big bowl of bread (hutapáni), tortillas, and a pile of new bowls.

When all was in readiness, the fiesteros moved to the food. The women fiesteros who were promised for the next year each sat by a bowl of bakaváki. On the opposite side of the mats, sat the men and women fiesteros. Behind the latter, on chairs, sat the male fiesteros who were pledged for the next year. The female novice served the food, giving food to the fiesteros first, then to the male novice, and then to whoever else came up and requested it. Several people made contributions of packages of cigarettes. Later, the male novices were seated about the table under the dance ramada where they smoked cigarettes, mostly of makúco. The cigarettes were lighted from coals placed in the bowl on the back of the pottery bull standing in the center of the table.

The conclusion of the bahíto was marked by a great deal more ceremony than the close of the hísimo. About 12 noon the male novices returned to the table under the dance shed and sat there smoking cigarettes for a long time. Two men held fiesteros' staffs upright with the butt resting on the table. Occasionally, they would both rise and tap the staffs on the table. Shortly after this, the west section of the dance shed was cleared and spread with mats on which the female novices sat. Each woman had a little bowl of makúco before her, together with corn husks and a little bowl of coals. They sat here for some time. About this time, the great bowls of atole to be eaten later were started cooking.

About 3 o'clock, the fiesteros lined up behind the cross, which had been returned to the position near the fiesteros' shed. The men were in front, the women behind. The table was again in front of the cross, but the bull was not visible. On the table were makúco, cornhusks, and the bundle of fiesteros' hats. The novices were lined up similarly facing the fiesteros. The first judge stood in the middle and prayed, the others giving the responses. After each response, the drum was played and the banner was waved. Each fiestero and novice made a sort of symbol of the cross, the fiesteros using their crucifixes or rosaries, the novices their ribbons. These they touched twice to the forehead, lips, heart, and then the lips again. The gesture was sloppily performed so that this description merely gives an average of the confused movements made.

After the prayer, the fiesteros filed past the novices, saluting them, touching them first on the shoulder and then touching hands with the cross of the fiestero's rosary between. Once in their original positions, the fiesteros were greeted by the novices, who used the knot of their ribbons in the same way the fiesteros had used their crucifixes. After the novices returned to their position, the first judge said a few words. The novices now retrieved their hats and other belongings and dispersed.

The fiesteros now entered the dance ramada and lined up before the dancers. All knelt, and the first judge gave a prayer with frequent responses by the fiesteros and the dancers. The latter then rose, and the leader of the dancers made a short speech. All the dancers now held a bundle of *cahuetes* vertically with both hands clasped about the bundle. During both speech and prayer, the music played softly. Accompanied by a few of the fiesteros, the dancers now left the shed and stood before the cross faced by two of the fiesteros and the judge, who prayed briefly. After the prayer, the dancers rattled their coccoon rattles. The fiesteros then picked up some smoldering sticks which had been placed in readiness, and gave one to each dancer. Accompanied by the fiesteros, the dancers went off a little distance and fired three or four *cahuetes* apiece, igniting them from the stick of smoldering wood, which they passed to the fiesteros on the return to the cross.

Reentering the dance shed, the dancers now danced three times toward the musicians at the north, then three times toward the musicians at the south. They then put their masks in front of their faces and danced to the music of the drum and flute, the deer dancer also dancing. Suddenly, at a signal I did not see, the audience broke and ran. The dancers seized the gourd resonators, filled them with the water from the gourd water drum and, pursuing the spectators, threw the water after them. In the commotion, one dancer then pulled the wooden bowl of the water drum out of the ground and spilled the water. Then the dancers ran behind the fiestero's shed, charging after small boys on the way and performing numerous antics. The bearer of the banner and two fiesteros bearing batons stood behind the cross for a few minutes while the other fiesteros gathered up the mats and musical instruments, placing them under their shed. The banner was then furled and leaned against the cross.

Atole (bannári) was served during these concluding moments, the dancers being served first, then everyone who wished it. Bread and tortillas were also handed out, the serving all being done by the fiesteros. The atole was made of wheat flour and *panoche* (unrefined brown sugar), káka, cooked to a thick mush. As the eating of the atole began, a few *cahuetes* were fired off. The eating of the atole concluded the official part of the fiesta.

A fiesta was held at Bacavachi on March 21 called the fiesta of the Rosary (Virgin del Rosario). Informants there insisted it was the same fiesta as the Bahíto of Pueblo Viejo, but this is undoubtedly incorrect. The fiesteros of Christ held a small fiesta at Bacavachi the previous night. Saturday morning the dancers for the ensuing fiesta were all assembled at one of the houses in the village. At Bacavachi it was said that if one ate from a certain special olla of atole or bakaváki, one was obligated to furnish two ollas of the same food for the next fiesta.

The final fiesta of San Juan is held on San Juan's Day, June 24. It appears to be the only fiesta for San Juan which has a fixed date. It differs from the hísimo only in that it is on a much grander scale and has many preparatory rites. (This fiesta was not observed; the data are from informants.)

Twenty days before the fiesta, the fiesteros start visiting all the suburbs and small settlements, stopping at each house to solicit alms. They take with them the image of San Juan and are accompanied by the moros, or moors. The latter are composed of men and women who have taken a vow to perform this function as a penance or as the result of some favor they have requested. Some ride on horseback; others go on foot. The men choose three chiefs who keep order; the women have only one chief, it being felt that the women are less apt to get into mischief than the men. If a man molests any of the women, he is given a beating.

The ideal order on the march (which is probably not closely kept) is for the leaders to walk in front with the banner, followed by four pascola dancers and a deer dancer, and then the fiesteros with the image of San Juan. The latter are flanked on either side by the moros on horseback and these in turn are flanked by the moros on foot. The moros are supposed to hold hands, forming a chain.

At each house where they stop, prayers are said on arriving and leaving and *cahuetes* and bombs are fired. At each house where they spend the night, the group makes a small fiesta, and at each house where they spend the noonday *siesta*, there is a short small fiesta. The company is usually invited to some particular house whose owner has taken a vow to give a small fiesta at this time.

Ideally, the dancers are supposed to accompany the party all the time and to perform at all these occasions. Actually, it sometimes proves too expensive to pay for so much service. Consequently, the dancing at the small fiestas is often impromptu, performed by the accompanying moros.

The moros on horseback and those on foot at some point perform a mock battle. The precise time and circumstances, I could not determine. The accounts given seemed to indicate it was a more or less continuous affair, but a fight lasting over 20 days is hard to imagine. The moros are given roosters at the various houses where they stop, and the battle consists of the two sides hitting each other over the head and shoulders with the roosters grasped firmly by the neck. The roosters are alive at the start of the battle. Presumably, the remains are eaten later.

According to some, the fiesta of San Juan begins on a Friday (this does not agree with its being a fixed date fiesta) and continues until Sunday. Its details appear to be the same in the main as the other fiestas; at least it was generally considered a waste of time to tell me the details, a resolution from which the informants could not be budged. The end of the fiesta was marked by the induction of the novices to the status of fiesteros for the coming year.

The nature of the induction could be learned only in a general way. It takes place in the space between the two dance and fiestero ramadas or sheds. The new fiesteros are given the staffs of office. The chief fiestero gives his successor a new pottery bull (pasco *toro*) of the kind used in the bahíto. This bull is inscribed on the left hindquarter with the initials of the retiring fiestero. The bull is kept by the chief fiestero on his retirement from office, a new one being made and passed on each year. The use of the bull seems to be widespread, as I observed a broken specimen in a niche in the church at Batacosa.

The bowl on the back of the bull is decorated on the inside with a curvilinear design in red on a buff slip. The same type of decoration was observed on the inside of the bowls in which food is served for the bahíto as well as in the bowls filled with tobacco which are placed in front of the women at one point in the same ceremony. They are the only attempts at decoration observed on Mayo pottery.

On the day of San Juan, certain personal observances were required. Everyone bathed in the river early in the morning, the men in one place, the women in another, the boys in a third, and the girls in a fourth. This is now ignored by most people. Formerly some ritual accompanied the bathing. People arrived at the river about 3 o'clock in the morning. When on the point of entering the water, they said, "God has permitted us to arrive at this day." Once in the water, they splashed water at one another, striking the water with the palm of the hand, strongly, singing in one tone, "San Huánta bápo yéwe (Saint John playing in the water)". After repeating the phrase three times, the bathers left the water and returned home, where they prayed.

THE FIESTAS OF CHRIST AND THE VIRGIN

The cycle of ceremonies culminating in the fiesta of the Sabado de Gloria (Easter Saturday) begins on the first Friday of Lent. On this day, the fariseos have their first meeting to organize and arrange for their part in the events to come. There is a procession (kónti) about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, in which images of Christ and the Virgin are taken from the church out to the edge of the village, visiting the 14 stations of the cross. The final station is marked by 3 crosses known as the *calvario*, or calvary. Each station is marked with a temporary cross (or a cross is carried and put down at each station in some towns). At Masiaca there are 3 permanent crosses planted beside the road at the point of the last stop.

These processions are repeated each Friday of Lent. At the early ones only a few of the fariseos or clowns are in attendance, but the numbers increase each week. The clowns follow and burlesque the procession and pretend at the same time to be seeking and following the footsteps of Christ. Before the procession starts, they indulge in antics before the church.

In 1931 the first Friday procession was observed at San Ignacio on February 27. About 3 o'clock, the fiesteros of Christ began to arrive and the church bells were sounded. The ringing of the bells was repeated at about 4. During this time, the crowd assembled. The majority seated themselves under the ramada forming the major portion of the church. The fiesteros assembled under a couple of trees near the cross before the church. Each fiestero knelt and prayed before the cross and again before the bells as he arrived. Then he greeted the earlier arrivals. Those who already had donned their rosaries extended the cross in the right hand; the other person either touched the cross with the right hand or touched it with his own cross. If neither had a cross, they touched hands.

Staffs for the canopies to be held over the images and the banners of Christ and San Juan were brought out and tied upright to the cross, the bases resting on a low four-legged stool. The men, as they arrived, removed their hats and put bandannas on their heads. The hats were laid on a fine palm-fiber mat, which was later wrapped about them and carried into the church. About 4 o'clock, the fariseos came running down the road, frightening the children and dogs. Their drum was beaten. After a few minutes of horseplay, the fariseos retired behind the church and unmasked. There they were joined by late arrivals.

The altar was opened and both Mexicans and Indians entered and prayed. About 4:30, the crowd had grown considerably, and the procession was formed. Canopies, made of cheap cotton squares tied to the ends of four long canes, were held in position in front of the church. The first canopy was carried by men or boys, the other two by women. The bearers were hastily selected on the spur of the moment from the crowd around. Most of the fiesteros formed in two lines facing the church. Three boys came out of the church carrying a cross and two large old wooden candlesticks. They took a position between the canopies and the fiesteros. They were preceded by a small boy with a bell. A moment later a man joined the boys, carrying a cross about 4 feet high, newly made out of peeled cottonwood sticks.

Women carried two images of the Virgin out of the altar section of the church and held them a while on the east side of the church. A number of women came up and kissed the feet of the images. The fiesteros before the church knelt and prayed, rose, advanced a few steps, knelt, and prayed again. The image of Christ, a smaller figure, was brought to the door of the altar room. Two men knelt and prayed to it, then led the way toward the front of the church, chanting. A woman followed them, singing, until the image reached its position under the foremost canopy. The bearers of the two Virgins followed to their position beneath the two other canopies. The bell carried by the small boy was rung, the fiesteros knelt and prayed. Then they rose, and the procession started forward.

The order was as follows: The bearer of the new cross first, the bell, cross, and candlesticks, the fiesteros with their staffs and banners, the white banner of Christ in the middle and the red banner of San Juan at one side, then a man bearing a palm-fiber mat, the maestros and the singer, and then the images. The man with the cross, who led the way, stopped and planted his cross on the ground at more or less regular intervals. Everyone in advance of the image of Christ stopped, the mat was spread out on the ground for the bearers of the image to stand upon (this feature was not seen anywhere else), and everyone knelt except the bearers of the images and the canopies. The maestro prayed or rather chanted at considerable length in Spanish. After several minutes, everyone arose and the procession went on, the bell ringing and the singer singing in a doleful high voice.

When the procession was well away from the church, the fariseos came running from behind the building. Some ran part way into the open part of the church, others to the cross, all peering apprehensively about. For a moment they burlesqued the ceremonies that had taken place in front of the church. Then others pretended to find footsteps and all went off in pursuit of the procession, performing ridiculous antics and occasionally burlesquing the religious proceedings. They followed the procession until it returned to the church.

The processions on the other Fridays resembled this one closely except that the number of fariseos increased each time. The processions at other pueblos also seemed to follow the same general lines; in fact, at most places they seemed identical. At Pueblo Viejo, a few slight differences were noted. In the first place, the fariseos were fewer in number and much less extravagant in their performances. Instead of following the procession, they walked quietly beside the images. In addition, two fariseos walked close to the Christ image, holding their lances crossed over its head.

At Bacavachi, an old man, who subsequently represents Christ in the Easter week ceremonies, is taken to the church by the fariseos two Fridays before Easter. He is said to be "introduced," or presented. He is also paid a sum of money as a retaining fee.

Three or four weeks before Easter Saturday, the fiesteros and fariseos begin begging trips. The image of Christ is carried with them by the chief fiestero, wearing a white apron. The party goes from house to house begging alms. Money and food are given and often the fariseos are given a flower or two to wear on their masks. Daily attendance is not required of the fiesteros. The banner is always carried. The kobanáro or his assistant always accompanies the image. The money and supplies secured during the begging trips are used to defray the expenses of the fiestas. At the close of the year, anything left over is devoted to the decorations and altars of Christ and the Virgin or of the church in general. Surpluses are never large, as the fiestas involve very heavy expenses for the large quantities of food required and to pay the dancers and musicians.

At midday, the image of Christ is taken to a house and placed on a temporary altar under the ramada while the party rests. This is also done at night. These stops are called, respectively, siestas and *velaciónes* (amabóyi). At night, also, fiestas are sometimes held. The image and its party are invited to the various houses for these rests. Sometime during the preceding year the host has made a vow to offer his hospitality. Should he have taken a vow to give a fiesta, this will be done, the householder standing the expenses. Other people may accompany the image on its visits as a result of a vow to do so for so many days.[36] These people and the fariseos perform such necessary work as chopping wood and carrying water during the noon and evening stops.

For the *siesta*, as a minimum, the householder will arrange an altar and sweep up his house. In addition, he may erect arches of cane leading to the shade and supply food to the party. The last 2 weeks of Lent he may invite the matachini to come and dance. He does not pay them, nor necessarily feed them. Matachini may also be invited in the evening even when there is a fiesta.

The nature of the *velación* varies to some extent with the circumstances of the individual at whose house it is held. Usually this person has taken some sort of vow to hold the *velación* and makes it as elaborate as his circumstances allow. A different *ranchería* is selected each night and in case more than one person has made a vow, the *velación* might start in one house during the afternoon and be completed at another house in the evening. In some cases a small fiesta is held.

A *velación* witnessed at Tetanchopo near San Ignacio consisted simply of burning candles before the image, which rested on a temporary altar decorated with paper flowers. A dish in front of the image received the alms. The fiesteros sat or lay about the house while the fariseos stayed some distance in front under some trees. The masks and other accoutrements were laid on the ground or on a bush directly in front of the house, but about 30 feet away. The burning of candles continued from about noon until the following morning, when the group departed to continue soliciting alms from house to house.

During the soliciting of alms, the fariseos trail behind the fiesteros who bear the image. The image is taken into each house and prayers are said. The householders frequently prepare a temporary altar on which the image is placed. Alms of some sort, either in cash or food, must be given. Once, when I met a procession on the road, I offered a few cents in alms, whereupon the image was thrust into the car for my benefit.

A more elaborate type of *velación* was seen on the night of March 8, 1931, in a *ranchería* called Makochin some miles down the river from San Ignacio. About sundown, the image of Christ was brought up the road from Chucarit, borne by the fiesteros but accompanied by the fariseos. It was placed in a temporary chapel made of cotton cloth stretched over a framework to the east of the house. The fariseos doffed their masks and put them on their staffs or swords, which were stuck upright in the ground. Between the temporary chapel and the dance shed were six arches made of canes stuck in the ground with their ends tied together. The shed was walled only on the west side, but was practically against the house on the north. The west wall was divided into two parts. Against the north half of the wall, an altar was erected, sheltered by mats. Two violinists and a woman harpist sat on a bench against the wall south of the altar. The drummer sat on the ground against a board set in the earth at a slight angle near the southeast corner of the shed. A bench for spectators was put along the south side of the shed. The entire arrangement resembled that made for the ceremonies connected with a Yaqui funeral. (See p. 76 et seq.)

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[36] It was only after discovering this fact and making a vow that I was accepted in the fiestas and processions.

Shortly after sundown, the first pascola arrived. The music had already started playing. The pascola wore his mask and was led like a blind man at the end of a stick by a fiestero. The fiestero led the dancer about the dance shed two times and then before the altar. Here the dancer pushed his mask aside and both knelt and prayed. Replacing his mask, the pascola was led three times more about the dance space and then to the cross in front of the shed. He again pushed his mask aside and prayed, this time without kneeling. He was then given a stick of smoldering wood and several *cahuetes*, which he fired off at a little distance from the shed. Returning to the cross, he replaced his mask and was led again to the dance shed. There the fiestero left him with his stick.

The dancer now addressed the musicians. After a few words, he placed the end of his stick into the lower hole in the sounding box of the harp. This he addressed for several minutes, prodding around in the sound box with the stick. He then went to the south center post of the shed where he spoke for a short time, after which he marked a cross on the ground. This he repeated at the east, north, and west sides of the shed. He then disposed of his stick by pushing it into the roof.

The pascola spoke to the musicians again. They speeded up the tempo of the music and he danced a few steps, then stopped and harangued the musicians. Then the musicians stopped and the drummer began to play. The dancer again performed, stopping at intervals to address the drummer. To both musicians and drummer, his words were to the effect that they weren't doing very well and would have to play better than that if the evening were to be a success. At the conclusion of this, he put his mask aside, the stringed instruments began to play, and he started dancing in earnest.

A short time after this, the image of Christ was brought and placed on the altar prepared under the ramada. Various people came and prayed before the image. The fariseos then moved their masks and sticks to a point a few feet back of the cross before the shed and dispersed, leaving two men to guard them. The latter promptly lay down and slept between the masks and the cross.

During these events, the women were preparing food, which was eaten later in the evening. As this was a small fiesta, only two pascola dancers took part in the dancing. Otherwise the subsequent procedures were very similar to those of the large fiestas. The ceremony lasted through the night. In the morning, the fiesteros and fariseos went forth to beg.

Near Navojoa, March 7, 1932, a simple *velación* without a fiesta was observed. (See fig. 25.) The house was swept clean and a temporary altar made against the house wall beneath the shade. Five arches of cane were erected, making a pathway leading toward the road. Two fariseos arrived in advance of the rest and ran around the house to see that everything was in readiness. They then began indulging in horseplay before the house, to the delight of innumerable children. After about 15 minutes, the procession appeared with a number of fariseos in advance. The party consisted of the fiesteros, the kobanáro (who had taken a vow to accompany the image for 10 days or he would not have been in attendance), the first assistant kobanáro, who kept close by the image all the time, the *sargento*, maestro, singer, and several other people who had taken vows to accompany the image. A number of people waited to receive the image, in this case, all women. As soon as the image was placed on a temporary altar before a cross facing down the row of cane arches, these women knelt and kissed the image. Prayers and songs were given by the maestro at appropriate places, the *sargento* ringing a bell which had been left at the house for this purpose. While this went on, the fiesteros knelt behind the image, while the maestro, *sargento*, singers, and the women who received knelt or stood in front. During and after this ritual, the fariseos indulged in various antics for about half an hour. The fiesteros (who had been sitting on the ground by the image) then rose, and the image was taken to the altar under the shed. The fariseos formed a line on each side and made a "fence" with their spears or lances, beating their machetes on them at the same time. The fiesteros made one circuit of the regular house cross on their way to the altar. Before the altar, all except the fariseos knelt, and there were lengthy prayers and songs by the maestro and singers. Theoretically, the image was carried to the house by the master of the house, but I did not notice this nor see the usual ritual of passing the image about his head before the procession started toward the house. The remainder of the night was spent in resting and watching the image, before which candles were kept burning.

The following night there was a *velación* with a fiesta. As it was the only one to which I had a specific invitation by the host, I had unusually good opportunities for observation and witnessed numerous details which were perhaps a part of other fiestas of this nature but which were not seen before. (Cf. description of similar fiesta in Makochin above.)

The beginning of the fiesta was identical with that of the previous night. The dancers were fed at a table near the kitchen before dressing inside the house. While the dancers dressed, a follower of the image who acted as an alawási or servant for the night, set up a board for the drummer to lean against and the musicians took their places. The first pascola was led into the dance place with his mask over his face and was "shown" the dance place (fig. 25, *b*). He was led with a stick which he held in his right hand, the other end being held by an alawási appointed by the householder. Uttering shrill falsetto cries, the pascola was led twice around the dance place, once around the left front post of the shed, and then before the altar, where

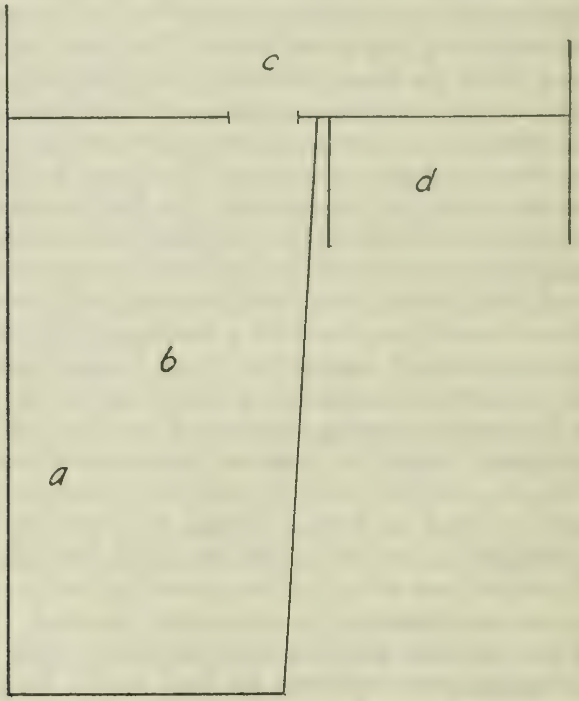

FIGURE 25.—Plan of *velación*. *a*, Musicians. *b*, Dance floor. *c*, Door of house. *d*, Location of altar table and saint. The walls on each side are temporary.

he removed his mask. The image had not yet been brought to the altar. Consequently, he kissed a white bundle on the altar after kneeling. This bundle contained white sheets and other paraphernalia always carried with the image to decorate the altar should the preparations of the householder be inadequate. The pascola replaced his mask and was led back to the dance place, where he engaged in a long monologue, poking about in the holes in the sounding box of the harp with his stick, and occasionally uttering high-pitched cries as before. He then marked three crosses about the dance place, the last before the harp, talking for a time at each place. He then removed his mask and was given half a dozen *cahuetes*, which he fired from a spot indicated by the alawási. He returned, donned his mask, and danced a few steps before each of the musicians, talking to each one. He then placed the staff or stick in the roof and the real dancing started. (It should be noted that the order of this procedure was not quite customary. See the description of the pascola dancers for the customary procedure and also for the character of his conversation during this part of the ceremony.)

The movements of the pascola during the opening part of the ceremonies were imitated by the fariseos under the other part of the shed reserved for the image of the saint. They imitated the bringing in of the pascola, the entire group entering in single file, holding on to each other's lances. Later they imitated the dancing. They pretended to be frightened, and rushed out of the shed in a wild stampede every minute or so, only to return and begin their imitation anew.

Somewhat later the image was brought to the altar, as on the previous evening. The maestro sang, and, in addition, the pascola danced before the image, unmasked, while the violinists and drummer played. From time to time, the dancers uttered characteristic high-pitched cries. The chief dancer led the way to the altar and was the first to kneel before the image. There were lengthy prayers and songs, the householder remaining on his knees throughout. The songs continued for a time after the maestro left. The fariseos surrounded the group at the altar, tapping their lances with their machetes, their drummer tapping the drum slowly three times at the end of each song.

The dancing now began in earnest and a crowd formed about the dance place. The householder invited various friends and guests to have bread and coffee at the table where the dancers and musicians had eaten.

About 10 o'clock, the worshippers moved from their position in front of the altar where they had been sitting and kneeling on mats. The audience was also moved back some distance from the dance place. The assistant kobanáro rose from his seat beside the altar (left) and extinguished the candles, leaving only the light of two kerosene lamps. The fariseo leader placed two fariseos on guard. They and their successors took ludicrous pains to keep their lances crossed before the altar, either in their hands or leaning against the enclosure. The leader showed each pair the altar and pretended to whisper instructions in their ears. Each fariseo made elaborate counting motions as though checking the contents of the altar. This was repeated at the most incongruous moments possible. The guards then took turns imitating the pascola and deer dancer. One imitated the musicians appropriate to each dance; the other, the dancer. All wore tenóvares and carried a crude imitation of the *sonazo*. The two gourd rattles used for the deer dance were imitated by rattles of dried bull's scrota. The drum and flute were imitated by using one *machete* as a flute and that of the other guard as a drumstick, the staff or lance serving as a drum. The position of the hands was, of course, reversed as fariseos must do things backward. The notched rasping sticks (for the deer dancer, although no real deer dancer was actually present) were imitated with machete and lance in the wrong hands and the scraping was in the wrong direction. Everything possible, such as the playing of instruments and the use of rattles, was done with the left hand. Some laughter was occasioned by a young boy who began to use the rattle in his right hand and was promptly corrected by another fariseo.

If the fariseo dancing did not watch, the one imitating the musicians would forget to "play." He counted the objects on the altar, or simply watched the other dance until he was reminded by a pretended or threatened blow by the dancer; then the musician would "play" strenuously for a few moments. Sometimes both stopped and counted furiously. Both were subject to sudden frights and would jump to one side. During rest periods, the pascola shouted at the fariseo guards or rattled their tenóvares to throw the fariseos into confusion. The fariseos also peered about to see what the dancers and musicians were doing; each action observed was elaborately burlesqued. The pascola dancers frequently shouted that the prisoner was escaping. Then the guards were thrown into wild confusion until they had satisfied themselves everything was in order. After this went on for a short while, one of the guards left while the other made frantic gestures of vigilance. When the other returned, he made a pretence of passing money to the one who had stayed. Later this was repeated by the other guard.

After a time the two guards were relieved. The leader appeared with two new guards, accompanied by the drummer of the fariseos playing a marching rhythm on his drum. The guards, when they heard the drum, began to check up frantically on the objects on the altar. Each shook hands with the guard who relieved him (with the left hand) and gave a burlesque of the embrace, dancing about somewhat vulgarly. In several cases, the handshaking was burlesqued, and in at least one case, the back of the hand was kissed as described by Parsons for Oaxaca (Parsons, 1936, p. 89). Finally, the leader whispered in each new guard's "ear," indicated the altar, and departed.

As the night wore on, the gestures and comments became more obscene. About 12 o'clock, a small stuffed ocelot was introduced by one of the fariseos not on guard. It was treated with little reverence, being used to frighten the guards or used by them to threaten the pascola dancers.

About 12:30 the antics of the clowns were becoming even less restrained, when the leader of the fariseos unceremoniously ordered them all out. They all dropped down, unblanketed, by small fires in the yard for a few hours' sleep.

During the guarding of the altar, each fariseo danced the pascola dance for a time in the dance place. Each danced unmasked and apparently in all seriousness. That this was definitely a ritual performance was indicated clearly when a young man of the audience, carried away by the music and the hypnotic quality of the dance, began dancing. He was promptly pushed off the dance floor by an alawási.

While the fariseos guarded the altar, a bench was placed on the left for the women who had previously been sitting on the ground before the altar. The candles were relighted after the fariseos left the altar.

A siesta or noonday rest period with matachini was observed at Chíbuku, March 10, 1932. The house was swept and the house altar prepared under the shade, as previously described. The matachini arrived first and began dancing in front of the house cross. From beyond the dance place, a line of cane arches extended to a neighboring house beside which a temporary cross and table had been placed. As before, two fariseos arrived in advance of the procession to see that all was in readiness. After one period of dancing by the matachini, the procession arrived. The image was placed on the temporary altar at the outer end of the row of arches. After prayers, the dancers and musicians all greeted the image, kneeling and kissing it. The image was then borne to the house altar by the householder and his wife, one carrying each side. The matachini danced in front. At each arch there was a brief halt while the maestro and singer sang, after which a *cahuete* was fired. The fariseos accompanied the group on each side, making a fence with their lances on which they beat with their machetes.

After the image was placed on the house altar, the maestro and singer prayed and sang, more briefly than at night. While this was done, the matachini stood in two lines on either side with their feather wands inclined forward, their hands in the position of prayer (palms together). After the prayers, the dancers knelt before the altar, two by two, prayed briefly, and then took positions facing the altar, reversing the positions they usually held while dancing. After all prayed, they did an about-face and the *monarca* led them to the dance place, where they resumed their dancing. The matachini danced three times. After a rest period, they danced again until about 2:30, when the image was taken away again through the arches. The matachini did not accompany it.

On the altar at Chíbuku was an inconspicuous small square palm-splint twilled basket with a cover containing a money offering from the householder to the saint. It may have been present at the other houses, but it was not noticed. The idea seemed familiar to informants. As on other occasions, the first assistant kobanáro was constantly in close attendance on the image.

The same evening a fiesta was held at Chíbuku. This was similar to the fiestas described except that the matachini also danced. The matachini performed in a space between the shed and the house cross without reference to the activities of the pascola dancers. The householder carried the image in from the outer altar to the house altar. On this occasion, the conventional behavior was observed; the householder knelt and before he carried in the image, it was passed three times about his head in anticlockwise circuit. Here, as at the siesta earlier in the day, the matachini knelt in a line on each side of the altar, hands together, feather wands inclined forward while the prayers were spoken after the image was brought to the house. Both matachini and pascola danced before the image as it was brought into the shed under the row of arches. On this occasion the image and the fiesteros left before dawn to prepare for the regular Friday procession at the church in Pueblo Viejo.

March 11, the day following the above-described fiesta, is said to be the day of the dogs. They are supposed to be tied up all day and fed only atole. Neither dogs nor humans are supposed to eat meat on this day, but so far as dogs are concerned, the custom seemed to be entirely honored in the breach. During Easter week, the fiesteros and fariseos may not eat meat. Other people do not eat meat from Thursday to Saturday.

At Pueblo Viejo on the Friday of Dolores, the following details of the start of the procession in the church were observed: The fiesteros lined up behind the side doors of the church facing the saints. The image of Christ was in advance, followed by two images of the Virgin. Four fariseos in pairs crossed their staffs over the image of Christ and the first of the images of the Virgin. The maestro knelt before the

Christ image and prayed at length, reading from a book. The fariseos and the bearers of the images alone remained standing during this prayer. The fariseos turned their backs and pretended not to hear, creating noises with their rattles, tapping their sticks, and making various signs.

On Palm Sunday many of the Indians went to the white churches. They brought back palms from which they made a little cross to tie to the door posts or other posts of their houses. The Indian churches were open, but were occupied only by the fiesteros. The latter put in quite a bit of time cleaning up the church and the grounds in front for the ceremonies of the ensuing week. About 11 o'clock in the morning they took the banners to the white church where they were "baptized," that is, blessed by the priest. New banners and tobacco pouches were also taken to church. This was evidently done sub rosa, the objects being concealed in the audience so far as I could observe. The remainder of the Easter ceremonies were observed only in 1931.

On Wednesday night of Easter Week, April 1, 1931, candles were burned before the Christ image in the church at Pueblo Viejo. About 10 o'clock, several of the male fiesteros went out and cut cottonwood branches with which to decorate the church for the ceremonies the following day. A square in front of the church was also outlined with green leaves, the cross before the church being in the center of the outer line. The purpose of this square I was unable to learn. The following morning it had been removed and the ground cleanly swept. The church doors were closed throughout the night. Undoubtedly, the Tenebrae were celebrated during the night, but outsiders were not admitted and all informants claimed to be ignorant of the ceremonies. I suspect there was a whipping ceremony like that of the Yaqui (p. 171) performed in secret to avoid interference or comment by the Mexicans.

On Thursday, the first of the public Easter Week ceremonies occurred. Owing to a difference in time, I was able to see the ceremonies both at Navojoa and San Ignacio. Inasmuch as the ceremonies differed slightly in detail, I am describing both.

The fiesta at Pueblo Viejo occurred first. The church was opened shortly after noon and the fiesteros gathered early. About 2 o'clock, the fariseos appeared from the west with an old man who was to impersonate Christ. He wore a crown of "thorns" on his head and was led by a rope about his waist. For a while he was tied to the cross before the church by one end of the rope. Later he was led inside. There he sat on a mat near the door facing the entrance with two fariseos behind him as a guard. The latter indulged in their usual antics, pretended to sharpen their swords and made meaningful gestures at the old man. On the floor before him was a dish for alms;

whenever anyone made a contribution, the fariseos abandoned their antics long enough to make gestures of thanks. This money was given to the old man.

Meanwhile, all the other fariseos went to the north side of the church, where they unmasked. Several of them assisted in the decoration of the horse on which Pilate was to ride. This took place out of sight in the yard of the adjoining house. Paper flowers were tied to the saddle, bridle, mane, and tail. Cocoon rattles were wrapped about the lower forelegs, and a pascola rattle belt was placed about the neck. The final adornment was the attachment of mirrors to the tail and over the forehead of the horse. The impersonator of Pilate wore a heavy black veil over his face and carried a spear with a huge black head made of cloth.

During these preparations, the church gradually filled with a changing crowd which entered to pray to the various saints and the Christ image. For a time a small boy stood outside the church rattling a *metraca*, a board to which had been attached two old-fashioned bureau-drawer handles.

Pilate now rode out and around the plaza in a clockwise direction. He was accompanied by two fariseos who ran along side "riding" their spears or staves and hanging by one hand to a loop of rope slung over the saddle horn. Returning, Pilate entered the yard beside the church once more. He was said to be celebrating his victory over Christ.

After an interval, the old man impersonating Christ was led out of church, preceded by a fiestero bearing the banner of Christ, and accompanied by other fiesteros. The fariseos stood guard over them all and the rope was still kept about the old man's waist. He was first led three times about the cross before the church and then around the plaza in a counterclockwise direction opposite to that followed by Pilate. Returning, the old man went once about the cross and re-entered the church, accompanied by his two fariseo guards. Shortly after, Pilate rode about the plaza again accompanied by the two fariseos.

Later the old man was brought before the church and Pilate rode up to him on his horse and then made the horse back away, repeating this numerous times. He was said to be mocking Christ. There apparently was no procession.

The ceremony at San Ignacio began much later and was more elaborate. When I arrived, the canopies for the image of Christ and the two images of the Virgin were in position before the church. The fiesteros were kneeling before the cross in front of the church. The fariseos were on the east side of the church. The wands and crowns of the matachini were hung against the outside wall of the west side of the building. A horse was brought in and decorated by the fariseos in the same manner as at Pueblo Viejo, except its mane and tail were braided and no mirrors were used. Pilate wore a black veil also, but his black-headed staff looked more like a scepter than a spear. When the preparations were completed, he mounted and, accompanied by the fariseos, rode off to bring the old man representing Christ.

In the interval, the matachini donned their crowns and lined up in double file west of the church door. Included in their number were two boys and a girl of perhaps 14, the latter clad in a white dress. The old man representing Christ was now led in, naked to the waist, and wearing a rosary. His arms were bound and he was seated before the cross facing the church. The fariseos formed two lines between the cross and the church.

A girl of about 15 impersonated Veronica. She was dressed in white and wore a white cloth fastened over her head in a style resembling the Arab headdress. She brought a jar of water from which she gave the old man a drink and then ran out of the church yard and down the road. The fariseos suddenly fell on their faces and writhed in the dirt. The old man's arms were released and, accompanied by a man bearing a cross about 3 feet high, he walked down the road following the route taken by the girl. The girl also carried a cross of palm leaves about 18 inches high, while the old man carried a smaller cross of the same material. When they were some distance down the road, the fariseos rose to their feet and ran in pursuit, accompanied by Pilate on horseback. The "Christ" was captured about two blocks down the road. The girl was unmolested and returned to the church from the opposite direction. She made a circuit of some 8 or 10 blocks, running all the way.

The fariseos followed the same route as the girl. As they approached the church, they forced the old man to crawl on his hands and knees for several feet, repeating this several times. In the intervals they pretended to strike him. Two of them held on to a rope which had been tied about his waist and pretended to drag back on it. The man with the cross, who had accompanied him and was said to represent an apostle, held the rope with one hand so that none of the jerks and haulings on the rope reached the old man. The procession entered the church yard and the old man returned to his position before the cross, walking over two blankets which had been spread on the ground and between the files of the matachini.

The old man now sat before the cross with a blue bandanna handkerchief spread on the ground to receive alms. Most of the audience made contributions. As people did so, the fariseos made derisive and often obscene gestures, particularly when the person stooped to place alms in the bandanna. When no more alms were forthcoming, the money was tied up in the handkerchief and hung about the old man's neck. He went into the church, and immediately afterward a large image of Christ on the cross was carried out and held beneath the front canopy.

The procession now formed and started immediately, the Christ image being carried ahead, followed by the images of Saint Paul, San Juan, the Virgin (two images), and the remainder of the 13 apostles, including Judas. As in previous processions, the fiesteros went in front, but on this occasion the matachini followed the maestro and the singer. This procession followed the same route previously taken by the old man in his flight and capture. On the return to the church, the images were put in their places and the ceremonies were over. The following day another procession was scheduled to follow the route of the regular Friday afternoon processions. Friday night candles were to be burned in the church all night.

The Friday activities at Pueblo Viejo were different from those scheduled for San Ignacio. About midafternoon, Pilate, his horse decorated as before, rode around the plaza twice and then rode up to the cross before the church. Turning, he rode 20 or 30 feet away, then back to the cross. He did this three times, then repeated the cycle three times after a short interval. A few minutes later Pilate appeared again and repeated the above 40 or 50 times until the procession appeared.

Sometime earlier, an image of Christ had been laid out in a glass coffin borrowed from a Mexican undertaker. The coffin and the bier on which it rested were simply but richly decorated with flowers. The fiesteros, and many others who entered the church, knelt before the bier and women sang at length, being answered by women in an inner room of the church. After lengthy prayers, the bier was carried outside and the procession started. An image of the Virgin dressed in black was also carried.

Outside the church, the procession circled the cross three times. As at previous affairs, the alawási circled in a clockwise direction contrary to that followed by the others. The procession now split up, the bier and most of the fiesteros going east from the church, the image of the Virgin, preceded by Pilate, going in a northerly direction. Both parties made a circuit of several blocks, meeting in the middle. Two fariseos accompanied the Virgin, with their staffs crossed over the image. Two others walked with their staffs crossed over the bier; the rest of the fariseos walked on either side. Both processions returned at the same time, circled the cross, and entered the chuch. The fariseos played about the cross for a while and then retired. The crowd then dispersed.

In the evening candles were burned before the bier and the matachini danced in the church for a short time. This was, I think, the first appearance at the church of the matachini of Pueblo Viejo.

By shortly after 9 o'clock the following morning, Saturday, everything was in readiness at Pueblo Viejo for the great festival. The plaza was filled with people, not only Indians but Mexicans. Women and children were selling eggshells filled with confetti to be used later. Beyond the cross was a big pile of brush on which to burn the masks and equipment of the fariseos and before it a pile of smoking coals to start the fire. The church was already filled, but many still managed to squeeze in.

The entire altar end of the church was screened off by cloths hanging from a rope. Two men stood on the railing of the altar awaiting the signal to drop the curtains. Down the center of the church were lined up the various functionaries. Nearest the curtain were the matachini in two lines with the pascola dancers sitting on the floor between them. Next were the fariseos, roughly in two lines, with their leader standing and walking about between them. Beyond these were the fiesteros, the banner of Christ on the north side, the banner of San Juan on the south. (See fig. 26.) From time to time the fariseos moved about, rattling their sticks or making gestures at the crowd. The audience was well equipped with baskets of green leaves and eggshells filled with confetti.

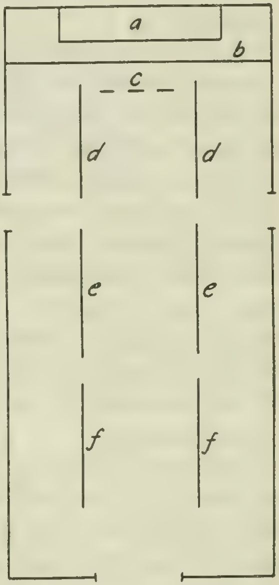

FIGURE 26.—Plan of Pueblo Viejo Church on Easter Saturday. *a*, Altar. *b*, Curtain before altar. *c*, Pascola and deer dancers. *d*, Matachini. *e*, Clowns or fariseos. *f*, Fiesteros, those of Christ on the right, those of San Juan on the left.

After an interval, women began singing behind the curtain. This continued for 15 or 20 minutes. It became stifling hot within the church. The leader of the fariseos began walking about impatiently, making motions for the curtain to be drawn aside. He became more and more insistent. Finally, the curtain was dropped, revealing nothing but empty space behind.

Instantly the church was in pandemonium. The singing burst forth in renewed volume with a triumphant note. The fariseos leaped to their feet and dashed pell mell from the church. People raised a great shout of "*Gloria*, *Gloria*," and began pelting one another with green leaves and smashing the eggs over one another's heads, rubbing the confetti in, and crying, "*Gloria.*" The pascola dancers rushed to the door of the church and back, bearing large baskets of green leaves with which they pelted the crowd. They were in turn deluged with leaves and confetti. This went on for some time, the pascola running back and forth between the two lines in the center of the church. At last the crowd began to thin out. Musicians took their places on the south side of the church near the front, and the matachini began dancing.

Outside the church, people were likewise pelting one another with confetti, mostly in eggshells. The fariseos had rushed to the pile of brush and stripped themselves of their masks, swords, and other paraphernalia, throwing them on the pile. The brush was ignited, while the fariseos threw themselves face down on the ground in a long row, heads toward the cross. Beside each sat a woman who shaded his head from the sun, while on the other side a man fanned him gently, loosening the encircling blanket from time to time to allow the air to enter. These were the new godmother and godfather of each fariseo. After a half hour or more the fariseos were taken into the church and were baptized again. Benches were placed north of the entrance to the church for the musicians, and the pascola began dancing.

About 11 o'clock the crowd began to thin out. The pascola dancers removed their activities to the ramada in the dance plaza. There they continued dancing rather desultorily throughout the afternoon. During the afternoon, the fiesteros made preparations for the fiesta of that night.

The fiesta at night followed the usual lines already described. The matachini added an extra note. They began dancing in the church at about 9 in the evening. While the *castillos* burned, they stood in two files on each side of the fiesteros. The following day, Sunday, "*Gloria*" was sung again in the church, but I have no details of the ceremony, as I missed it. The new fiesteros for the next year were inducted at the close of the fiesta in the afternoon.

An account of the Easter Week festivals by the chief fiestera at Pueblo Viejo presents some interesting differences from the actually observed performances. According to the informant, on the Friday of Dolores the image of Christ was brought to church to visit after seeking alms all week. This seeking of alms was called the kónti (those who go running); others applied this term to the Friday processions. The arrival at church was about noon, and, aided by the fiesteros of San Juan, the fiesteros prayed and sang in the church. About 1:30 the images of the saints were placed on platforms for the procession. After arraying the images, the fiesteros prayed and sang three times. After this day, there was no more begging (but despite this statement, I observed fariseos begging the following Monday).

Candles were burned before the image of the Christ from Wednesday night until Easter Saturday. This period of waiting is called the *visita.* The *velación* Wednesday night is performed before the images of the apostles by the Jews (fariseos) and the fiesteros. Thursday at 3 o'clock they "run the Lord" (Christ). An old man impersonates Christ. There are 14 stations where he stops and sits on the back of a Jew or fariseo. (This was not seen at either Pueblo Viejo or San Ignacio, but is a regular Yaqui practice.) Arrived at the Calvary, the Great Cross before the church, he sits down and is offered alms. (At Pueblo Viejo this was done in church before the "running.") The old man is then freed and taken into the church, where the bier of Christ is prepared. Candles are burned all night and a few rockets fired during the night. During Friday night, the fiesteros feed everyone who comes. Saturday as described was not different from what was observed.

Sunday morning bakaváki was made for the middle of the day, atole in the afternoon. In the afternoon, the fiesta was transferred to the new fiesteros. The latter always eat from a separate pot, as do the pascola dancers.

It is evident that two important points may be gleaned from this account. One is that the chief fiestera herself was not sure of the routine in some points, indicating the importance of the kobanáro and *sargento* in the operation of the fiesta; the second is that evidently the fiesta has undergone simplification. From the attitude of the informant, it seemed clear that the latter is to be considered the major cause of differences between her account and what actually took place.

RECENT CHANGES IN FIESTAS

Aged informants said that formerly the only outsiders permitted at the fiestas were those who had been invited. A whole village would be invited, the invitations being delivered in person by the kobanáro and the judge. This function could not be delegated. The visitors did not mingle with others at the fiesta but they sat in lines facing one another and talked.

Up to relatively recent times, fiestas were held for the purpose of averting or exorcising evil, and small ones were given on the slightest provocation. The causes included such trivial ones as being wounded by a cactus or mesquite thorn, certainly a frequent occurrence in the habitat.

Other changes within the memory of living informants are in slight details. Instead of placing paper flowers on the altar, fresh flowers were placed in special pottery vases with a glazelike finish called sótori séwa. Rosaries, instead of being purchased, were carved by hand from hardwood and dyed black with indigo. One old specimen purchased for the University of California Museum collection included half a dozen beads made of pearl shell.

The heavy drinking accompanying the fiestas is evidently a survival of aboriginal times. Up to a few years ago, drinking was restricted to Sundays and fiestas. Aboriginally also, drinking was entirely in connection with ceremonial events. While the kobanáro (or a parallel official now vanished) still held political authority, he kept all the weapons of the village in his house during drinking bouts. Fighting with bare hands was not interfered with. Nevertheless, the fiestas were policed. This is still the case today, as there are usually some Indians delegated to police the fiestas. In some of the less "advanced" pueblos they carry a whip made of the penis of one of the bulls slaughtered for the fiesta. Formerly, this was universally carried by the policemen.

VELACIÓN OF SAN JOSÉ

This is an annual occurrence in San Ignacio (formerly San José de Cohuirimpo). In 1932 it was held on March 18–19. It is evidently a survival of the fiesta of San José. The fiestero group, if one existed, has disappeared, and the fiesta is now conducted by the matachini, for this event called the Soldiers of San José. They are assisted unofficially by the fiesteros of both San Juan and Christ and other voluntary helpers.

The ceremonies started after the regular Lenten Friday procession was held. The fariseos went home after the procession, but the fiesteros remained. The image of San José was first dressed in entirely new garments contributed by various members of the community and placed on the image by their donors. When the image was newly dressed, it was placed on a table covered with an altar cloth and under the ramada which served as a church. The old clothes were burned later on. Late arrivals frequently tied ribbons on the image as an offering.

About 8 or 8:30, the matachini started dancing. All the matachini were expected to be present, although not all danced at once. There sometimes were over 40 dancing at one time. The dancing was almost continuous during the night and until the procession the following morning between 9 and 10. The dance space was illumined by kerosene flares and by candles stuck in canes split at one end.

On either side of the altar, worshippers set some 200 candles in the ground. Persons burning candles endeavored to stay as close to them as possible, with resulting congestion. Others brought articles of clothing and laid them on the altar, kneeling, praying, crossing themselves, and kissing the image the usual three times.

About 9, three maestros and three singers conducted long services. They stood on a mat placed before the image but beyond the candles. The matachini knelt throughout this service. The fiesteros knelt behind the maestros. After the prayers, fiesteros and matachini in small groups knelt, prayed, and kissed the image.

When the services were concluded, the matachini resumed dancing, and the habit of San José was placed on various individuals by their godparents. (It is not clear whether these were the regular godparents or new godparents chosen for the occasion.) These habits were donned because of a vow made during sickness by the individual or his relatives. The habits were made by relatives and given to the godparents. Sometimes new sandals were donned also. In one case a boy carried his own habit to the altar with him and gave it to the godparents there, but usually the habits were recovered by the godparents from the altar where they had been placed earlier. The habits were somewhat reminiscent of the Aztec huipil, a sort of long blouse slipped over the head and tied about the neck with a string. The material bore flower designs. The flimsy garments were said to be worn only a short time and then either given to some beggar or burned.

The ceremonial involved in donning the garments was complicated, and I am not sure I have the order of the various movements correctly. The garment was first taken from the altar. While kneeling before the altar, the motion of crossing the godchild was made with the garment by the godparents and it was then placed on the person. Then, the godmother holding the godchild's forehead and the godfather holding the back of his neck, the godchild rose and kissed the garments of San José three times. The three knelt again and first the godmother and then the godfather took the right hand of the godchild and made the sign of the cross on him with it. Godmother and godfather shook hands at the end of the ceremony.

This ritual is considered a sort of confirmation. It is said also to be done on San Juan's day when a similar garment, colored red, is placed on the godchild. In this case the garment is worn for an entire year. Those seen had an embroidered cross in the middle of the back and another over the heart. Twice, with small children, an actual "confirmation" was made. It occurred too unexpectedly to get a clear view of the proceedings, but a bell was rung for the maestro and singer who came and prayed. Money was left on the altar afterward.

The general ceremonies in 1932 seemed to be in charge of a "chief" wearing a broad leather belt, who supervised the church and altar, but I was unable to get a clear statement of his position or functions. He did not dance. At times he seemed to be subordinant to the leader of the matachini. The latter certainly managed all matters connected with the matachini and the outer portion of the church, and gave the order to carry in the altar near the end of the fiesta. The matachin leader was assisted by two *chicatones* or whip bearers. In addition there were two assistants to the dance leader who at times took his place as *monarca* in the dance. The *chicatones* danced part of the time. Other functionaries, who were apparently alawási, wore a miniature staff tucked in their shirt bosoms from which dangled several red and green woolen balls about half an inch in diameter. Two matachini stood guard on either side of the altar with wands extended toward it. From time to time they were relieved. A *chicaton* led two other matachini up to the altar, where they knelt and prayed, the *chicaton* in the center. All then kissed the saint three times. The same was done by the two guards coming off duty.

After a procession held the following morning, the matachini danced again for about an hour. During this period, the habit was still placed on a few people, mostly children. The close of the fiesta was marked by taking the saint's image into the inner room of the church. The fiesteros and then the matachini went inside to say farewell to the saint, kneeling, praying, and kissing the image. The matachini then formed a large circle in the middle of the church and the *monarca* thanked them in what appeared to be a set speech, telling them the dancing had been very pretty and winding up with "dios encókori (thank you)," to which the circle responded, "héwi (very good)," and a few muttered words not understood. Then the *monarca* spoke of the dancing to be held the coming week and of Easter Saturday. In this he was prompted audibly by the "chief," who stood at his right hand and a little behind him. There followed some discussion with the two *chicatones*, who stood in the center of the circle. The *monarca* then made a "thank you" speech to the musicians, standing before them, ending, "dios encókori," to which they replied, "héwí." During this speech, the matachinis' hats were placed in the center of the circle in two piles. The dancers sorted them without fuss or disorder. The circle then started to break up, but was recalled. The fiesteros of San Juan and Christ in the meantime had formed in a line with their backs to the inner room of the church and facing the circle. An opening was made in the circle at the point where the *monarca* had formerly stood, so all the matachini faced the fiesteros. The *sargento* made a speech of thanks to the matachini with the same ending and response as the *monarca*. The fiesteros then made an anticlockwise circuit, thanking each dancer individually, half-touching the shoulder, and then shaking hands with the rosary held in the hand. They returned to their original position, and the entire circle of matachini made an anticlockwise circuit, saying good-bye to each fiestero with the same handshaking as before. The circle then broke up, the fiesteros said good-bye to one another, and the function was over.

YAQUI FIESTAS

The major fiestas of the Yaqui appear to be about the same as those of the Mayo except that they place considerable emphasis on the fiestas of Guadalupe and Santa Isabel (Virgin del Camino). The latter is not represented among Mayo fiestas at all. The Easter fiestas hold relatively a larger place in ceremonial life than the San Juan fiesta. Although the latter is one of the more important fiestas, it is not given in every town. All towns apparently observe Easter and Guadalupe. Santa Isabel is observed as a tribal fiesta, as is San Juan, although for the latter, up-river and down-river towns each have a celebration. Probably all towns observe Noche Buena, at least as a minor ceremony, while New Year's Day (Circumcision of Christ) and various other small festivals are probably held at some or all towns. The two mentioned occur at Pascua in Arizona. In her manuscript on Pascua ceremonies, Roz Spicer lists 101 calendrical ceremonies, including vespers, vigils, *novenas*, and other minor rituals. In addition, the same year there were 45 Sunday services and 54 noncalendrical fiestas such as marriages, funerals, *novenas*, *fiestas de promesa* (fiestas resulting from vows), making a total of 200. Pascua is a mixed village and apparently makes some effort to perform the special ceremonies of all the river towns. Consequently, the number of calendrical ceremonies in any Yaqui River town probably is considerably smaller. Mrs. Spicer's totals are also increased by breaking down the Easter events into two parts and segregating *novenas*, vespers, and rosaries from the major ceremonies of which they form a part. On the other hand, both because of larger population and because of self-produced food supplies, the Yaqui towns probably have many more noncalendrical ceremonies.

The following tentative schedule of major fiestas was secured; informants seemed vague on the fiestas of towns other than their own and, consequently, for some towns the minor fiestas are uncertain:

Cocorit: Guadalupe, Easter.
Torin: San Ignacio, Guadalupe, Noche Buena (Natividad, Pastorela), Easter.
Bacun: Camino (Santa Isabel), Easter, Guadalupe.
Vicam: San Juan, Easter, Concepción, Guadalupe.
Potan: San Juan, Easter, Guadalupe, La Trinidad.
Belen: San Miguel, Easter, Guadalupe, San Isidro(?), San Ignacio(?).
Huirivis: Santa Rosa, Easter, Guadalupe.
Raun: Corpus Cristi, Easter, Guadalupe.

In addition, Santa Cruz, May 3, though not a big fiesta, is said to be observed in all the towns. San Francisco is a very important saint and many vows are made to him, but there is no fiesta in the valley. Instead, the shrine of Magdalena to the north is visited (or was at one time; I was told that in the past special trains were operated between the Yaqui River and Magdalena).

Yaqui fiestas in general have the same pattern and motivations as those of the Mayo. Certain features common to all fiestas may be noted here before giving such data on the individual fiestas as was secured. About 3 a. m. everyone present at a fiesta is given a bit of lighted candle which he burns where he is. When a bull is killed for the fiesta, three *cahuetes* are fired off. The blood is thrown away or occasionally saved, cooked, and eaten. There are no other ceremonies.

Whenever food is served, it is in the dance ramada. The maestros, temastianes, and kopáriam (singers) eat first, then the pascola and deer dancers and musicians, and finally the fiesteros. Those who eat in the dance ramada frequently send food to relatives sitting around. The soldiers eat by themselves and provide their own food. The various other officials, such as the kobaná'us, are fed, but not under the ramada.

Two permanent officers are the moros, one for the pascola, one for the deer dancer. They sit beside the dance place and attend to the dancer's wants. Some do it as a vow, others are appointed by the governors. Men also serve the teópokobaná'u, the singers, and the musicians, but they are usually called alawási rather than moros.

At the end of a large fiesta the surplus food is divided among the maestros, singers, dancers, and musicians. If food is given to anyone else, he must return it in a certain ratio at the same fiesta next year. For example, if a person is given three pieces of bread at the end of the fiesta, the following year he must return a whole sack of bread, for three pieces of panoche, also a sack, for one *cahuete*, a dozen the following year, and so on.

The singers and maestros spend the time during a fiesta at the church except when their presence is necessary outside (as when taking the image of the saint to the dance ramada, when they are served food, and so on).

Fiestas are given at any time to comply with vows taken to a saint. G———— told the following story which illustrates several points of interest:

> When returning from the United States, G———— and some 14 others traveled together on foot. They had to go secretly. Just before reaching the Sierra de Bacatete, they had to cross a big plain which has no water. They were without food for 5 days. The 6th day they had no water and could not find any. They traveled until 10 at night without water. About 10 o'clock the party separated, and part went another way to see if they could find water. G———— and 7 or 8 others remained with the leader, who said he knew where there was water. Soon they found a place where there was damp earth and, digging down, they secured a few drops of muddy water apiece. G————, the youngest, had found the place, but he was so exhausted he went to sleep before he had any water. In the night he dreamed the hole was full of clear water. He awoke, found it was true, and drank. In the morning they were able to

fill all their water gourds and canteens. The next day they traveled on in the mountains and came to some houses. Two men went ahead to scout, but the place was deserted. That day they came to where there were people. Two men went ahead and asked permission for the others to come, which was given. They stayed there 2 days and the rest of the party arrived. The people gave them food. The leader suggested they all give a *velación* to Guadalupe for their escape, and all agreed. After 2 days the people of the *ranchería* guided the party to their chief, explaining to him why they had not brought them immediately (exhaustion and weakness from lack of food). The chief said it was all right. Then he said to the members of G———'s party, "Do any of you owe a vow? If so, I will help you." They told him of the promise to give a fiesta to Guadalupe. He sent some of the party to Vicam Station, where they secured an image of the Virgin and brought it back to the mountains. They burned candles to the Virgin all night, and brought her image back to the station.

Scattered data on various fiestas is given below. The brief notes represent what informants considered to be important differences from the regular fiesta pattern.

Fiesta de la Cruz.—A paskóme is in charge of this fiesta, which is held in all the towns. It is said to be a fiesta of the captains and the soldiers. The coyote is danced.

Guadalupe, *December 12.*—Said to be a double fiesta like San Juan, with a division into moros and soldiers. It is held in all the towns. The soldiers dance the coyote on their side. It is a soldiers' fiesta, but the kobaná'us are said to give it; there are no fiesteros.

Concepción.—Said to be like the fiesta of Guadalupe.

Noche Buena.—This is held on the eve of Christmas, and probably is held in all the pueblos. The pastores dance. These are 12 children, accompanied by an old man, *rey*, or king, who plays a drum. The only other music is singing by the dancers. The pastores are accompanied by a pascola, who takes the part of a clown. He dances with the pastores, first on one side, then on the other. He is "half-crazy." He jests with the old man, saying, "How beautifully you play," and "Play another piece."

The Noche Buena festivities were observed at Pascua in company with the Spicers. They will doubtless publish a complete description. At Pascua, no pastores were present; instead, the matachini performed. It was a small, intimate fiesta, cheery and good-humored.

Virgin del Camino, *Santa Isabel* (itómai kamíno, "our mother road.")—This is the true national fiesta of the Yaqui, held on July 4 in Bacun. It is given by the 12 governors of Bacun, not by fiesteros. There is no division into two parts. Immediately after San Juan, the soldiers and matachini of each of the lower towns start forth with their images of the Virgin toward Bacun. They stop at every house between their home town and Bacun, where they arrive on the eve of the saint's day, or July 3. The matachini of Bacun go to the Sierra, where the Virgin del Camino is kept in a cave in the highest peak (tótoi takuséwi; "where the rooster sings", or "rooster sing flower?"). That night they hold a fiesta and dance before the image at a place called torokobámpo. The morning of July 4 they arrive at Bacun.[37]

When the Virgin del Camino arrives, the soldiers of all the eight towns form a hollow square. The images of the Virgin from the other towns meet the Virgin del Camino at the cross before the dance ramada. The matachini from the eight towns are present in a body. The images then are taken into the church. The best deer dancer and the three best pascola follow into the church and dance before the Virgin del Camino.

The following day there are two processions with all the images of the Virgin, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. In the afternoon, the procession goes to the *cruz mayor*. There the images of the Virgin from the other towns say farewell to the Virgin del Camino, one by one. All the pascola, deer, and matachin dancers dance before the Virgin del Camino. The maestros, tenánces, and matachini make one formation and say good-bye to each other, one by one. The soldiers of the eight towns do the same at the *guardia*. This is the end of the fiesta.

Some said this fiesta is divided into the two parties of moros and soldiers, but this was denied by others. There are no games. The soldiers dance the coyote. In the morning of the last day the matachini dance the wokopa'a (the maypole dance) before the Virgin del Camino.

Although denied by some informants, others said that during the final day, new members are inducted into the societies. All the soldiers, pascola, deer dancers, matachini, and other societies of the eight towns go to the church. Anyone who has made a vow to become a soldier, matachin, pascola, deer dancer, tenánci, or (presumably) temásti, enters the society on this day. Apparently the fariseos do not enter at this time. Two days later the Virgin del Camino is taken back to the mountains. If circumstances prevent the bringing of the Virgin from the Sierra, the fiesta cannot be held.

FIESTAS OF CHRIST AND THE VIRGIN

These, the Easter ceremonies, begin in the first days of Lent. The image of Christ is taken out on begging trips, much as among the Mayo, but the following specific differences are to be noted: While the image is out, four fiestas are observed at houses during each week. Contrary to Mayo custom, there is no dancing by the matachini during the midday rest or at the houses. At the house fiestas, two pascola dance, but no deer dancers appear. The owner of the house gives the fiesta and stands for the expense, as among the Mayo. The fariseos also dance similarly. The kusiaréo (flute player) of Pilate plays whenever the kopáriam sing. His flute, incidentally, differs from the pascola flute in being shorter and having eight stops instead of four. Two of the Pilate-fariseo group stand on each side of the altar of the saint during the night, praying. Behind each is a musician, flute player, and drummer. They take turns at this watch during the night, Pilate being one of the first pair. The fariseos dance outside the ramada instead of before the altar.

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[37] According to Dominguez (1937, p. 6), this ceremony takes place at Batanconcica, 12 kms. (7.5 miles) from Bacun.

The Lenten period is marked, as among the Mayo, with a procession every Friday. The fariseos meet on the first Friday of Lent. On the fifth Friday, they take over complete charge of the Christ image from the soldiers. The ceremonies of Easter week are longer than those of the Mayo and there are more processions.

The following descriptions for the most part are of ceremonies actually observed during Easter week in 1932. It should be remarked that the available time in the field and the conditions of observation precluded the detailed accounts of ceremonies that are needed. With the impossibility of recording more than the general pattern, emphasis was laid on the more obvious Yaqui interpolations and modifications.[38]

Pitahaya, March 22, Tuesday of Holy Week.—This procession did not differ greatly from those held at Vicam Station (see below), but as it represents a different town, it may be usefully described in detail. The fariseos and fiesteros had spent the night at a building beside the church originally built for a parsonage. A temporary cross was set before this structure. At the time of my arrival, the

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[38] A fairly detailed description of the Easter Week at Torin has been published by Holden (1936, p. 34). Interpretative aspects are faulty, particularly his description of the capaiyékas, or fariseos, as "devil chasers," which is completely misleading. A fairly good objective description of Pascua Village Easter ceremonies is found in Bogan (1925) with little in the way of interpretation. A generalized description, apparently from the Pueblo of Potam, is given by Dominguez (1937) and seems quite good. However, some of the phraseology suggests it is actually an account dictated by a Yaqui rather than one based on observation, particularly in the way Jews, fariseos, and capiyékas are spoken of as being entirely different groups. Dr. Ned Spicer and Roz Spicer have made a detailed study covering two different years at Pascua Village near Tucson, much of the time with several observers working in shifts. Consequently, their material is most detailed and, through their kindness, I have been able to examine it. Although certain differences appear, it is my impression that the descriptions are substantially in agreement. The Spicers have made a much more thorough study of the elements of Catholic ritual involved, and Mrs. Spicer has prepared a comparative analysis of the various accounts, including a manuscript copy of my own descriptions. As this analysis will probably be published, I have not attempted to point out more than a few points of comparison. Dorothy Beals has examined all this material from the standpoint of the medieval mystery play. Although her investigations are as yet incomplete, it is clearly evident that much of the form of the Easter celebration of the Cáhita is due to the medieval mysteries, and that certain problems in the European origins of this type of drama may be illuminated by this vigorous survival of a Spanish form.

Christ image had been taken into the church, and people were lined up before and inside the church to receive the procession.

As the procession came out of the church, it was headed by three boys carrying two large candlesticks and a cross. They were dressed in white surplicelike garments and wore hats similar to those of the tenánces. Next was a boy bearing a small Christ image and men carrying a large image of the Virgin beneath a canopy (hé'ka). There followed a Christ image on a cross, and two images of the Virgin borne by red-hatted tenánces. The *angelitos* walked beside the images of the Virgin. The last three images were guarded by the soldiers; the other image and the three boys went some distance ahead. There was no bell rung, no canopies, no circling around by the fiesteros or by the procession. Pilate and a young "understudy," both with spears covered in red, and some of Pilate's men went ahead of the large Christ image. The cavalry of Pilate formed a line, on each side of the images of the Virgin. The flute of Pilate played three sustained descending notes at intervals, said to be the crying of Mary. The drum of the fariseos was struck an occasional deep note which represented the sorrow of Christ.

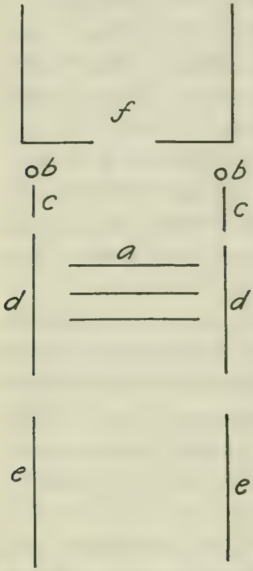

FIGURE 27.—Arrangement outside church at Pitahaya, Tuesday of Easter Week. *a*, Pilate and men. *b*, War Captains or Bow Chiefs. *c*, Minor military officials. *d*, Soldiers. *e*, Clowns, or fariseos. *f*, Entrance to church.

The route was around a square with the church in the middle; the stations of the cross were indicated by temporary wooden crosses. The Calvary (three crosses) was the third station from the end. The procession went directly forward from the door of the church to the side of the square, then turned in an anticlockwise circuit. The boys with the cross, candlesticks, and small Christ image went a bit past each station, stopped, and faced about. The rest of the procession did a right-face toward each cross, knelt, and prayed briefly. At each station the fariseos formed two lines and each file made a complete circuit of the group on a dead run, traveling in opposite directions.

At the conclusion of the procession, all entered the church except the soldiers, fariseos, and Pilate and his men (fig. 27). Services inside continued for about an hour. When songs or prayers were chanted inside, the flute and drum were played as during the procession. During the singing, the fariseos, led by one of the *viejos* or old men, clapped their sticks in various rhythms. When a song ended, they shook their hips to make their rattles sound, a way of saying, "Thank you," because they didn't have to work any more, according to informants.

After a time, the war captains entered the church. Then all the other officials, soldiers, and fariseos (unmasked) entered two by two, at intervals. The others left their hats outside, but the fariseos carried their masks. The war drums were struck two or three times as each pair entered and again while they were inside. Each pair went to the main altar, then to the north nave, then the south, crossing themselves at each position. They returned to their positions outside before the next pair entered. The two war captains stood on either side of the main altar throughout, making their devotions when all the others had finished.

At high noon a "guard mount" (described later) was performed with the drums and banner in the space between the fariseos and the soldiers. During the ritual, the fariseos faced one another in pairs. They crossed their staffs and beat upon them with their sticks. Afterward, the fariseos resumed their positions.

Shortly after the ritual, the war captains returned to their positions outside and the fiesteros came out with the small image of Christ. The procession formed again, going as far as the church cross. At this point it disbanded. The fiesteros and the image went to the parsonage, the fariseos chased the *angelitos* to their homes, and the soldiers went to the *guardia*. The fariseos eventually returned to the parsonage. The banner of the Christ, the staffs, lances, and other paraphernalia of the Pilate-fariseo group were leaned against the temporary cross before the house.[39]

On Thursday of Easter week the "running of the old man" theoretically occurs. With characteristic Yaqui literalness, however, the procedure is so violent that all the old men take to the woods during Lent and do not appear until after the fatal Thursday. Thus at Vicam Viejo, Vicam Station, and at Lencho in 1932 it was impossible to secure an old man for the part. Had it been possible to find one, he would have been forced to serve.

Ideally, the procedure is to serve a dinner to the orphan children at which the old man, called both Christ and an apostle, sits at the head of the table. After eating, the children have bands of mesquite bark bound about their heads and accompany the old man at the head of a procession. (Possibly the procession is before the dinner.) Subsequently, the old man is "run" about the way of the cross, the route of the procession, led by a black cord. It is then he is mistreated by the fariseos. At each cross he is allowed to rest and sits on the back of a fariseo, who prostrates himself for the purpose. Women bring him water. When he has reached the church, he sits before the altar to receive alms.[40]

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[39] Both Holden (1936, pp. 37–38) and Roz Spicer (ms.) describe the *tinieblas* on Wednesday night. According to both, the candles are extinguished one by one about midnight, or a little before, and in the ensuing darkness the worshippers and participants whip one another. According to Holden, straps are used. The ceremony is started by someone crowing like a cock. Afterward the candles are relit and the audience leaves, many imitating the cries of animals. Dominguez (1937, p. 11) says the whipping is confined to the fariseos and cavalry of Pilate, but at Pascua everyone to the smallest child was whipped. Here, some of the fariseos howled like coyotes to start the ceremony.

Much of this was done in a modified form by the Cocorit people at Vicam Station as described below:

The procession began about 3 p. m. at the church. The circuit was directly forward to the side of the hollow square formed by the *via crucis*, then about the stations of the cross. Pilate rode ahead, escorted by two fariseos, and followed by the image of Christ borne by four boys in red caps. Pilate's spear point was covered in white. After an interval came a large black cross with a figure of Christ crucified, then two Virgins, one borne by the tenánces wearing red caps. The latter two images were taken out of the line of the procession over to each cross and raised and lowered rapidly three times. The image of the crucified Christ was faced toward the station cross, then about-faced before moving on. The procession went at a fast walk, barely pausing at stations, except at two points with three crosses instead of the usual one. Here prayers and songs were performed by singers and maestros. One maestro and two singers followed the Christ image in advance of the main party, another equal group preceded the image of the crucified Christ. The infantry marched on one side of the procession, with the cavalry on the other. The fariseos ran at the sides, except for a few who followed behind and prodded up stragglers, saw that everyone knelt at the proper time, tapped with their sticks the heads of women who had them covered or whose hair was done up or had combs, and also objected to earrings or shoes being worn, although they made no objection apparently to sandals or to shoes worn by the few Mexicans and myself. At the conclusion of the procession, the small Christ image in advance was placed in a circle of cottonwood branches between two small mesquite trees. This represented the wood of Gethsemane. One man stood guard here while the rest went into the church, the war captains standing beside the altar.

After prayers within the church, the war captains returned to the head of their groups and the soldiers marched to rest positions, stacking their arms. The fariseo flute was played and their drum beaten. They then marched to their rest place, performing two circuits before resting. After a short interval, the company reassumed its positions. The soldiers and all the worshippers then moved out of the church to surround the brush circle on all except the side toward the church. Pilate and his soldiers, followed by the fariseos, again circled twice before the church, approaching the brush circle as they did so. They stopped there, reversed, and returned to the church. This they did three times, each time going further into the church. The fourth time they went only to the church cross, then returned to the brush circle, surrounded it, tore it down, and took the image of Christ back to the church. The watchers sang a sort of dirge as the fariseos placed a rope about the neck of the image and pretended to lead it to the church, where it was placed inside under guard. All rested a short time, the fariseos and Pilate's men again doing a circuit on the way to their resting place. While doing their circuits, Pilate's men and the fariseos danced with a shuffling, stamping step.

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[40] The actual "running" of the old man was observed by the Spicers at Pascua in Arizona, by Holden at Torin, and by Dominguez at Potan. Dominguez (1937, p. 12) gives the best account of the dinner of the apostles, listing the 12 traditional foods.

The following interesting and, in certain respects, important addition to the above observed data, was provided by a maestro:

> The brush enclosure represents the wood of Gethsemane. When Pilate and his men approach the circle, the old man representing Christ says, "*A quién buscas?* (*Whom seek ye?*)." If an image is used to represent Christ, then a sacristan nearby says the words.
>
> Pilate then replies, "*A Jesus Nazareno* (Jesus the Nazarene)."
>
> "*Yo soy* (I am He)," replies the impersonator of Christ.
>
> The dialog is repeated on each of the first three approaches. From this point on, the maestro or others, either in dialog or in chants, repeats all the words of one of the Gospels, accompanying the appropriate actions in the ceremonies until the "*Gloria*" is chanted Saturday morning. Unfortunately, I did not learn which of the Gospels is used.

A short time after the preceding incident, the procession about the stations of the cross was repeated in its entirety, with the difference that the image of Christ was "led" by fariseos with a rope about its neck. The procession was said also to be completely repeated in the late night or early dawn. In the meantime, the singers sat on mats at one side of the church, the soldiers went to their resting places, and the cavalry of Pilate went out on errands and to secure food for their horses. Pilate sat on a chair reserved for him on the north side of the church, and food was brought by women to the various groups. Women were not allowed to approach Pilate or his group (in which I include the fariseos), a corporal with a wooden sword going out some distance to receive the food and to return the utensils.

Friday, March 25, at Vicam Viejo, ceremonies were in progress in the church at about 10 a. m. (fig. 28). A plain black cross of some size rested against the main altar with its base on a rug. A war captain stood on each side. Three carpets were spread on the floor in front of the cross (fig. 28, *b*). Women advanced in pairs holding hands (or men with children or women with children), knelt a few feet from the first rug, and advanced to the rug on their knees, still holding hands. They then knelt on each of the three rugs in succession, keeping their right hands clasped. At the last rug, they put alms in a dish at the foot of the cross, rose, and stepped backward, kneeling on each rug. After backing past the next couple awaiting its turn, they released hands and touched each other on the chest or shoulder lightly, shook hands, and returned to positions in the audience.

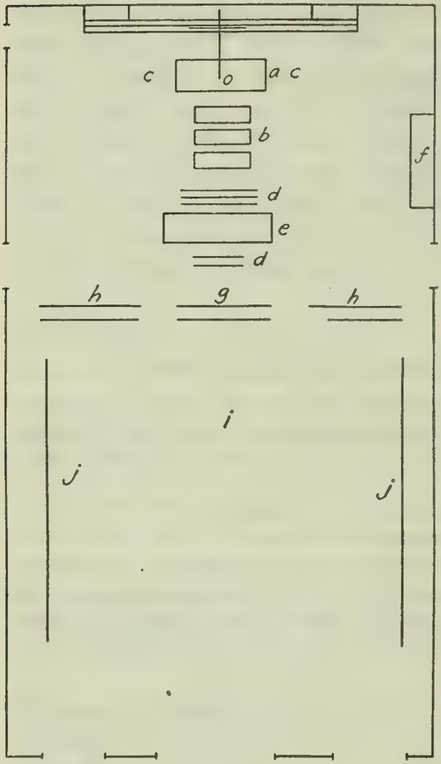

Figure 28.—Interior of church at Vicam Viejo on Friday a. m. of Easter Week. *a*, Rug upon which base of cross rests with dish for alms (*o*). *b*, Three rugs across which worshippers advance on knees. *c*, War Captains. *d*, Women of audience. *e*, Mat with maestros and singers. *f*, Side altar. *g*, Pilate and officials. *h*, Cavalry of Pilate. *i*, Center of clown activity. *j*. Soldiers.

Back of the rugs stood a group of maestros and singers (kopáriam) on a huge *petate* (mat). Some of the singers sat down at intervals. Singing and chanting was continuous. The women and a few men onlookers all sat before the side doors of the church. Opposite the singers on the right side were two images of the Virgin on a table. Back of the side doors the cavalry of Pilate (fig. 28, *h*) stood guard. Pilate and his assistants stood in the center just behind the side doors, the fariseos stood behind him, and the soldiers stood at the rear in two lines.

After the last offering had been made, the singers and maestros moved up to the altar and the procession formed. Three boys in red caps carried two candlesticks and a cross respectively, while behind was carried a figure of Christ. After leaving the church, Pilate, his "understudy," and their assistants went ahead of all, the first Pilate on horseback. The spears of both Pilates were covered in red. Behind the Christ image were a large black cross and three figures of the Virgin adorned with black veils. The cross was carried by the civil governor or kobanáʼu, the Christ by four men, the Virgin figures by the tenánces in their red caps. The war captains walked beside the crucifix. The soldiers marched on each side, followed by the main body of the fariseos. One fariseo accompanied Pilate, another two or three brought up the rear with two or three of Pilate's men. The procession moved rapidly. Each image and the cross were taken from the line of march to the crosses set up on the route and returned instantly to the line of the procession. Singing and praying were practically continuous. Two (?) lengthier stops were made. The playing of Pilate's flute and the fariseo drum were almost continuous. The route was straight ahead from the church almost to the dance ramada, then around a hollow square in anticlockwise direction back to the dance ramada, then back to the church.

Inside the church, virtually the same positions were taken as before. After lengthy prayers, the gathering dispersed. The soldiers went to the left of the church, and food was brought them there from their homes. The fariseos and the fiesteros remained inside the church, where the catafalque was prepared. The latter was brought out in a short time and carried to the dance ramada by a procession of the tenánces and some others, headed by the *angelitos*, and accompanied by the fariseos. Decoration of the catafalque was completed under the ramada. Food was served, the *angelitos* eating with the tenánces. The fariseos were served some food outside the ramada. After about an hour, the catafalque was brought back to the church.

The church was prepared for the ensuing ceremonies by placing a screen of branches across it in front of the altar. About 3 o'clock people began to reassemble in the church. A temásti shook a board rattle (*metraca*) violently, making three different trips about the circuit of crosses. The fariseos went from house to house and motioned people to go to the church. The *angelitos* emerged from behind the screen of branches and sat in front of the images of the Virgin. All the crosses on the circuit of crosses, the big church cross, and all the house crosses in the village were pulled up and laid flat on the ground with a few branches laid across them. At each place marked with three crosses, a bower of branches was erected. During all this time a guard of soldiers was kept beside the bier behind the screen of branches. The guard was changed frequently.

When all was in readiness, the center of the church was cleared, people sitting on the two sides. The fariseos and Pilate's men advanced toward the screen of branches and stood there for a while. Some of Pilate's men were masked for this event. The fariseos made bloodthirsty gestures of cutting throats and hanging. Pilate and his men finally went behind the screen of branches and the fariseos crouched eagerly along the screen. Behind the screen, Pilate made the sign of the cross three times with his spear before a large crucifix. When he finished, a heavy blow was struck with a mallet, a wild shriek rent the air, followed by a chorus of shrieks and laments and then a chanted lament in unison. The fariseos leaped at the branches and tore them down, hauling them out of the church through the side doors. The figure of Christ was hastily removed from the cross and placed on the *urnia* (bier), while the cross was draped with a long strip of white cloth to represent the crucified Christ.

A short period of singing ensued, during which many offerings of money and candles were laid before the bier of Christ. Soon a procession started, very similar to the one in the morning except that the bier went ahead, followed by the white-draped cross. Behind came a hooded Christ and the two Virgin figures, still shrouded in black. Pilate rode forward and back ahead of the procession as in the morning, making an antisunwise circuit as he rode. The heads of the spears of Pilate and his understudy were now shrouded in black.

When the procession returned within the church, Pilate's cavalry remained outside, mounted. Together with the unmounted infantry of Pilate, they formed two lines facing each other just beyond the church cross. After a moment, the mounted men dashed at each other at full gallop, pulled up just before meeting, tossed their spears to the infantry or jabbed them upright in the ground, and galloped to their resting place.

Inside the church, there were lengthy prayers and songs. Many offerings were made at the bier, which rested before the main altar. The war captains stood guard beside the bier. The fariseos were very vigilant in seeing that everyone kept on his knees during this part of the ceremonies, not allowing anyone to sit back on his heels. Pilate and his men did not enter the church, but rode back and forth outside for a time and then went to their resting place. I left at this point, but indications were that the end of the ceremony would be similar to the others.

The body is now guarded in the church by the fariseos until about midnight, when they are frightened away. A mock fight takes place outside the church during which the bier is probably removed.[41] When the fariseos return, the end of the church is screened off with a big curtain. At the rising of the morning star, the drums are beaten three times to warn people to prepare for the ceremonies. At sunrise, a figure of Judas, made of cornstalks and wearing a fariseo mask, is taken on a burro about the circuit of the crosses in the reverse (clockwise) direction. The burro serves for 3 years. It is specially cared for, doing no other work. The captain of the fariseos wears a small black cloth mask and, with the other fariseos, accompanies the trip of Judas. At each cross there is a pantomime of playing the violin, dancing pascola, deer, and coyote dances, and praying. When the circuit is completed, the Judas figure is set up a short distance from the church cross. It is stuffed full of *cahuetes* and other fireworks. About 9 in the morning preparations are well under way for the Sabado de Gloria (Easter Saturday).

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[41] Holden (1936, pp. 46-47) describes two processions during the night, one with the image of "Mary" (one of the Virgins?), the other with the image of Mary Magdalene. The two follow the *via crucis* in opposite directions. When they meet, the fariseos with each procession stage a mock fight. This is later repeated before dawn. The curtain was placed after this procession, while the fariseos and others rested at their camp fires. At Pascua, the bier was brought out by the fariseos about midnight and paraded about the town. Both the Spicers (1940) and Holden (1936) describe a celebration held by the fariseos after this.

Easter Saturday, Vicam Viejo, 1932.—At about 9 a. m. people began to drift toward the church, the majority wearing new clothes. The women offered an especially colorful contrast to their Lenten attire, appearing in brilliant new silk or rayon dresses and rebozos.

Inside the church, the kopáriam occasionally sang. Men finished the preparation of the Judas figure (fig. 29, *k*) outside the church east of the *cruz mayor* (*l*). A burning log lay at the foot of this figure, to be used to ignite it later. West of the church cross (this and all the other crosses were again upright) were two men with *cahuetes* and another smouldering log. Before the cross stood a boy, holding a Pilate's sword, and beside him was extended a blanket (*m*). On this, women and men, as they arrived, dropped cottonwood or mesquite leaves, or paper confetti, or flowers. Mesquite leaves were most abundant, for they were newly out and their brilliant green was very attractive. The soldiers were standing and sitting on the east side of the church, while the front of the church was brilliant with the dresses of women and girls who sat or stood in the shade awaiting the beginning of the services. Near the door was another blanket with a guard to receive greenery and confetti.

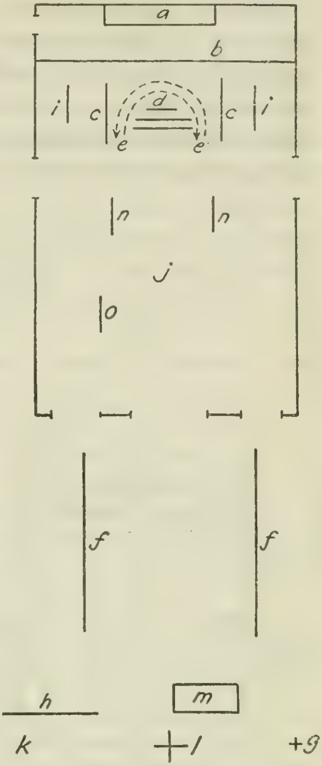

FIGURE 29.—Church at Vicam Viejo on Easter Saturday. *a*, Altar. *b*, Curtain before altar. *c*, Matachini. *d*, Pilate and men. *e*, Course followed by clowns as they approach curtain. *f*, Soldiers. *g*, Men shooting *cahuetes* (fireworks). *h*, Godparents awaiting final flight of clowns. *i*, Civil officials. *j*. Open runway from altar curtain to main entrance of church. *k*, Location of Judas figure. *l*, *Cruz mayor*. *m*, Blanket for collection of confetti and leaves. *n*, Pascola and deer dancers and musicians. *o*, Coyote dancers and musicians.

After a short time the matachini arrived in a group and went to the forward part of the church, just in front of the screen. Pilate and his men and the fariseos next arrived from some headquarters beyond the plaza, probably by the dance ramada. Two Pilates, two flute players, a drummer, and some other assistants walked in two lines in platoon formation, abreast, the drummers and flute players in the rear line. The fariseos were in two long lines at each side of and behind the Pilates and their men. Two or three more of Pilate's men walked ahead and behind each line. The flutes alternately played their three mournful descending notes, followed by a hollow drum tap as the Pilate and his followers began their dance.

The Pilates and fariseos danced with a stamp and a light tap of each foot alternately. A few more used a more complicated rhythm in which the foot was tapped two or three times rapidly before stamping the other foot. The stamps were not pronounced and the general appearance was more of a shuffling walk with a hesitation at each step. The fariseos tapped their sticks as they danced. The fariseos did an encircling movement, while Pilate and his men advanced and retreated, about-facing at each end of their march (fig. 30). Most of the fariseos had bright silk scarves, given by godparents, tied to their arms. Some of the godparents tied scarves on the arms of others, walking beside them as they danced.

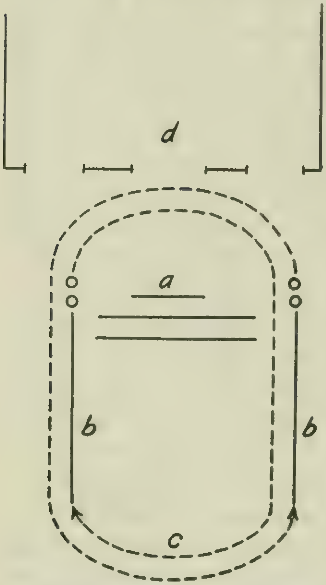

FIGURE 30.—Dance of the Pilates and fariseos. *a*, Pilate and assistants in front line, his men behind. This group goes forward and back between *a* and *c*, about-facing at the end of their movement. *b*, Files of clowns or fariseos. The circles indicate their leaders. The broken lines show course followed. *d*, Main entrance to the church.

The Pilate and fariseo groups advanced first to the door of the church, then returned to the church cross, repeating this, I think, nine times. As the dance began, everyone moved into the church except the soldiers, who formed two lines outside the church on each side of the Pilate group and fariseos. After the nine circuits outside the church, the dancers entered part way in (fig. 31) so the figure was done half inside and half outside the church. With each advance they entered a little further into the church until they finally were entirely inside and advancing up to the screen which set off the end of the church. As they approached the altar, they made more and more gestures of decision toward it. When they reached the screen, a deer dancer and three pascola took up their positions about midway in the church, two on either side of the center lane between the spectators. The two blankets full of leaves and confetti had been brought in and were beside them.

After marching and counter-marching several times in their dance before the curtain, Pilate and his men marched or danced forward to the altar. As they reached the curtain, it was raised. The altar was bare and Pilate and his men came out from the curtain on a dead run, followed by the fariseos, running as far as the church cross. They were pursued as far as the church door by the pascola and deer dancers, who pelted them with greenery and confetti, as did many of the women and children standing on the sides. The curtain was dropped again and, from the church cross, Pilates and fariseos danced in again. As they reached the curtain, it was again raised and the performance was repeated. The third time it was repeated, the dancers were met at the church cross by the godparents, who violently tore off the paraphernalia. Blankets, masks, and sticks flew in all directions. Others gathered up the masks and sticks and piled them on and about the figure of Judas. A maestro was in charge here.

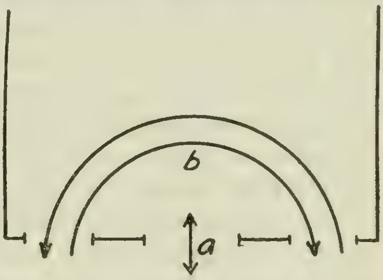

FIGURE 31.—Entrance of Pilates and fariseos into the church. *a*, Main entrance indicating advance and retreat of the Pilate group. *b*, Route followed by clowns or fariseos on first entry into church.

Meanwhile, as the Pilate and fariseo groups started to run out the third time, everyone within the church began singing the "*Gloria*"; the pascola and deer dancers shouted, "Gloria," as they pelted the Pilates and fariseos with leaves and confetti. The pascola and deer dancers ran to their positions (fig. 29, *n*), and the war captains to their positions (fig. 29, *o*), and all began to dance. The pascola danced to flute and drum, wearing their masks. The gourd drum of the deer dancer floated on a pottery bowl set in sand. As the audience began shouting, "Gloria," the men outside began firing *cahuetes*, the figure of Judas was fired and the fireworks began exploding, and the soldiers began firing guns into the air, about half firing volleys in small groups, the rest firing at random. The church bells were also rung madly and the noise was tremendous.

As soon as they had torn the regalia from their new godchildren, the godparents seized the fariseos and Pilates, one by each arm, covered their heads with the new scarves, and dragged them into the church and up to the altar, running as hard as possible. There the Pilates and fariseo members were forced to cross themselves before the Virgin in each nave and before Christ on the main altar. A rosary (in some cases more than one) was put about their necks. They were then taken to the back of the church just inside the door, where they formed a semicircle, their faces partly covered by their new scarves, each held by the arm by his godparents. A speech was made by one of the men there. While this was being done, the dancing by the pascola, deer dancer, and war captains, and the singing of "*Gloria*", continued.

The speech concluded, the dancers and musicians with all their instruments were led up to the altar. They knelt in two lines and were led by a maestro in prayers. The matachini, who all this time had been kneeling in two lines in the front of the church in line with the pillars, now arose, donned their crowns, and began to dance toward the door. The pascola and deer dancer danced back and forth through the matachin formation as far as the door. At the door the matachini turned back toward the altar, while the others went out. A procession formed with the three altar boys with two candlesticks and a cross in front, the fariseos with their godparents in two lines, flanked by the soldiers with the war captains at their head. Between them were, I think—the confusion was tremendous and several hundred persons were involved—the *angelitos*, the kobaná'u group, and church officials. The cavalry and infantry of Pilate accompanied the kobaná'u group, on foot but carrying spears. The matachini may have come out of the church at the rear of the group and followed to the dance ramada, where the entire procession went. As the procession left the church, the singing of "*Gloria*" stopped. The masks and the figure of Judas were but smouldering embers. The ringing of the church bells continued for a short time after the procession left the church.

When the procession reached the dance ramada, the dancing stopped. The church officials, the *angelitos*, and the matachini (if they were along) returned immediately to the church, headed by the three altar boys. The pascola and musicians lay down on mats east of the dance ramada. The ex-fariseos and their godparents disposed themselves east of and before the ramada. The cavalry spears, the fariseo masks and staffs saved from the destruction, the blankets, and the black clothes of Pilate's men were placed around the cross before the dance ramada. The soldiers took a position west of the dance ramada with their arms stacked or racked against a pole set on forked sticks. The bonnets of the war captains were removed and their hats placed on their heads by an official, who also stacked up the arms as they were handed to him. The canes of the civil governors were placed in the middle of the rack and they sat with the soldiers. The swords and scabbards used by Pilate's assistants were placed on the altar table under the dance ramada (fig. 32).

Mats were now spread under the ramada across the front. These were covered with blankets and then a long cloth runner. The maestros and singers seated themselves and were fed; each received a large bowl of bakaváki or stewed meat with garbanzos, several pieces of wafer bread, coffee, and water. When they had eaten, they sent their bowls with any remaining food, together with coffee and bread, to friends or relatives seated outside the ramada. At the conclusion of the meal, a speech of thanks was made by one man. When he finished, all crossed themselves and said, "héwi (very good)."

After the maestros and singers were fed, the mats were moved to the west side of the ramada and the dancers and musicians were fed in the same way. They also sent out food to others. When they had finished, all bowed their heads. It was impossible to tell from the distance whether a speech was actually made, but after an interval all crossed themselves and said, "héwi," as before.

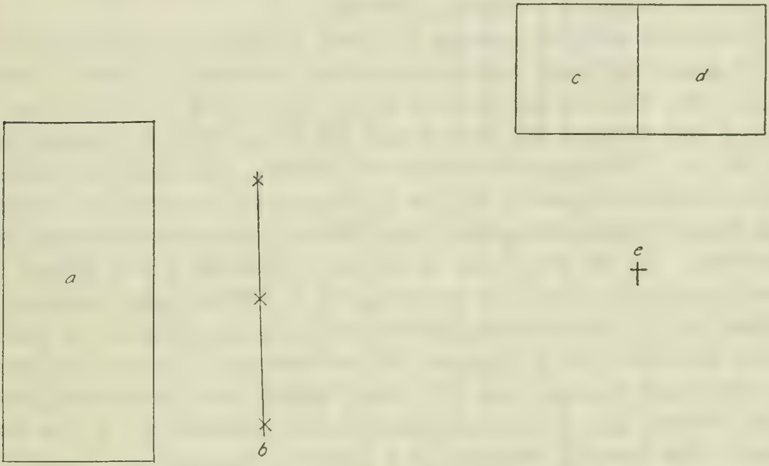

FIGURE 32.—Dance ramada and *cuartel* at Vicam Viejo on Easter Saturday. *a*, Cuartel, or military headquarters. *b*, Line of racked arms. *c*. Saint's ramada with altar table. *d*, Dance ramada. *e*, Fiesta cross.

While eating, the guard mount was played by the drummer with the flag bearer, or alpéz. While the dancers were eating, the dance place was prepared by being sprinkled with water and then scraped with a board to remove any pebbles or irregularities of the soil. The dancers and musicians again reclined and the kobaná'u and the soldiers were fed. After about three-quarters of an hour the dancing began. The matachini in the meantime had begun dancing inside the church. Both groups danced until the next morning.[42] Late in the afternoon or evening the Christ image was brought from the church and put on the table under the dance ramada.

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[42] Holden (1936, p. 51) says the Coyote dance was performed all night at Torin. This was not the case at Vicam Station, and I was told it was not performed at Vicam Viejo.

The dancing was seen in the evening again at Vicam Station. No dance ramada was used, but a screen of branches was erected on two sides of the dance place. A little to one side a bower was made of arched branches beneath which the image of Christ was placed on a table. Candles burned before it and two small boys, *angelitos*, sat on either side. In front of the altar sat a group of girls and women and a maestro. The girls, from their dress, were *angelitos* and apparently were being taught the songs. At intervals they sang at length, apparently repeating one phrase over and over. The only occasion when the words were distinguished, they were "*Santo San Bernardino apostolico*," repeated for about 5 minutes.

The pascola stopped dancing at Vicam Station the following morning at about daybreak, but the matachini continued. Shortly before sunrise two lines of cottonwood twigs were stuck in the ground to make a lane between the church and the altar beside the dance place (fig. 33, *a*). The lane was strewn with leaves. All twigs and pebbles were carefully removed. A line of guards was stationed to prevent dogs from crossing the path; their efforts were more hilarious than successful. As the first rays of the sun appeared, a boy played the guard mount on a drum just west (fig. 33, *b*) of the racked arms of the soldiers (*c*). A few moments later a lone boy appeared at the cuartel behind the church and repeated the performance. A few men stood near the Pilate-fariseo cross (*d*), about which were the swords, spears of the cavalry, and other paraphernalia still remaining. A few were eating. One pascola, wrapped in a blanket, was amusing himself by playing the flute and drum softly. The soldiers were lounging about their post.

When the pathway was in readiness, the matachini stopped dancing. Four tenánces, young girls, in their red caps, issued from the church and ran as fast as possible to the church cross, bearing one of the images of the Virgin. There they dipped the image three times, then ran back to the church, making an anticlockwise circuit of the cross. A second time they ran halfway to the dance place, dipped the image three times, and returned. The third time they ran to the shrine beside the dance place and returned. Immediately on their return, four men issued from the church carrying another image of the Virgin. They were confused and, despite shouts and gestures, ran all the way to the shrine and back without the three starts.

The matachini now divided in two equal parties; one came to the shrine by the dance place, where a procession was formed. The matachini led, followed by the pascola and deer dancer with the drummer in the middle, then the *angelitos*, the maestros and singers, the image of Christ, the several kobaná'u with their canes, and then

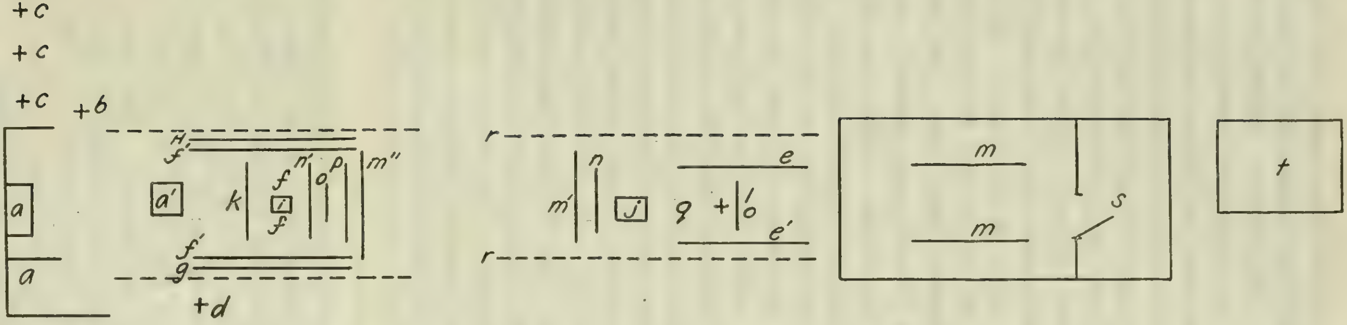

FIGURE 33.—Procession at Vicam Station on Sunday morning. *a*, Saint's table and dance place. *a'*, Saint's table in procession. *b*, Position where guard mount performed. *c*, Racked arms of soldiers. *d*, Fiesta cross used by Pilate-fariseo groups. *e, e'*, Soldiers. *f*, Pilate and assistants. *f'*, Clowns or fariseos. *g*, Cavalry of Pilate. *h*, Portion of soldiers. *i*, Christ image. *j*, Image of Virgin. *k*, Kobanáʼu group. *l*, Line of fariseos after the procession. *m*, Matachin position in church. *m'*, Matachin positions in procession. *m''*, Matachin group at dance place. *n, n'*, Maestros and singers. *o*, Angelitos. *p*, Pascola and deer dancers. *q*, Groups of women in procession. *r*, Broken lines indicate lines of cottonwood branches. The two sections are purposely out of alinement in the drawing to suggest the irregularity of the arrangements. *s*, Enclosed portion of the church. *t*, The *cuartel* (military headquarters).

a group of women. Pilate carried his spear again with the point covered in red. The remainder of Pilate's men were in their black garb and walked beside the image. The fariseos walked in two lines on each side, two of them with the sticks and masks which had been saved, the masks worn atop the head but facing backward. Pilate's cavalry walked on one side, half of the soldiers on the other. (The other half of the soldiers had gone to the church, where they lined up.) The table on which the Christ image had rested was borne at the rear. As this procession started forward, another procession issued from the church toward it, with matachini in advance, followed by maestros and singers, and an image of the Virgin. In both processions the matachini danced, as did the pascola and deer dancer.

The two processions each halted three times. At each halt the maestros and singers with the Christ image prayed and sang first, then those with the image of the Virgin. Each time the matachini knelt and the pascola and deer dancer stopped dancing. The women following the Christ image also knelt, but not the guards or the fariseos. The third time the processions stopped, the matachini of the two processions had met. After prayers, they rose and danced through the procession of the Virgin toward the church, followed by the pascola and deer dancer. The maestros and singers stepped to one side and the images of the Virgin and of Christ were brought face to face. Singing began and the women threw leaves, which they had stripped from the twigs lining the walk (carefully destroying them all as they went), and confetti. The Virgin was moved behind the Christ image, the maestros and singers joined in advance, and the procession moved toward the church. The fariseo and Pilate groups ran ahead and into the church, casting aside the masks and other equipment at the church cross. From this point they ran back to the procession, then again to the church, continuing until the images were carried into the structure.

The fariseo and Pilate groups were captured by their godparents and led up to the altar as the procession entered the church. After the images had been placed in position, the fariseos and Pilate's men knelt before them. The matachini went outside the church and danced; the pascola and deer dancers performed inside. The fariseos and Pilate's men were taken directly before the altar one by one and rosaries placed on them again by their godparents. They were then taken out to the church cross, their heads again covered by their new scarves, and their blankets placed about their shoulders or over their heads. They sat in a line, facing the church, heads inclined. Their paraphernalia were taken behind the church by an official.

While the fariseos and Pilate's men were coming out of the church, the matachini stopped dancing and the outcoming parties passed between their lines. At certain places in the chants and prayers which accompanied this, the matachini knelt and crossed themselves. When all Pilate's men and the fariseos were out, they formed two lines beyond the matachini and more prayers and songs were performed.

An interlude now followed while the regular Sunday procession was held. The image of Christ was brought from the church and, accompanied by all those present in their various groups, was taken on a slow anticlockwise circuit before the church, passing outside the church cross. Songs and prayers were continuous. When once more in front of the church, the image was dipped three times, facing east. This was repeated to the south, east, north, east, and west. Then the image was returned to the church, while the groups resumed their former positions. During the procession, the matachini, pascola, and deer dancers danced before the image. The war drums beat continuously.

The fariseos and Pilate's men now formed a circle before the church cross. Someone spoke and there was a ceremony of farewell, each person going about the circuit. The various officials now began to say their farewells at the altar, headed by the war chiefs. The officials entered two by two from opposite sides of the church, each pair being announced by the war drums. They genuflected and crossed themselves on entering and leaving the church. The banners were waved outside as they entered and the war banner inside was waved over them in the sign of the cross as they knelt at the main altar. Each bowed three times to the main altar, three times to the south, and three times to the north, crossing himself each time. Before the soldiers had gotten around to their turn, the pascola and deer dancers and musicians came out of the church. So, too, did the cavalry of Pilate. All went to the dance place and prepared for departure, although they were still to be fed by the fiesteros. People began to drift away from the church also, and the formation of the fariseo group broke up.

SAN JUAN FIESTA

The fiesta of San Juan, June 24, is held in Vicam Viejo and Potan. The fiesta was not observed, and the data are from informants. The fiesta of Potan was unfamiliar to my informants, who said it was of "another kind." Also, Potan is said to have no banner of San Juan, which detracts from its importance.

There are two complete sets of fiesteros for San Juan at Vicam Viejo, each with its saint's image, its dancers, and other attendants. One group is called moros, the other soldiers. Each has a banner, that of the moros being red and that of the soldiers blue. The moros wear a red 'kerchief on the head and the "horn," a crescent-shaped copper ornament, on the forehead, while the soldiers wear a blue handkerchief on the head and no ornament. Each group has its own dance ramada.

The dance ramadas of San Juan are on opposite sides of the second church cross at Vicam Viejo, the moros on the side toward the sunset, the soldiers toward the sunrise. For a period in advance of this fiesta, the fiesteros go from house to house begging alms.

There are many visitors to this fiesta, which is considered a sort of tribal affair in many ways. In the ceremonial games, the people from the four down-river towns—Potan, Huirivis, Belen, and Raun—are said to be alined with the moros, while those from Vicam Viejo, Bacun, Torin, and Cocorit are alined with the soldiers. (This contradicts the information that the down-river people have their own fiesta.)

The first day of the fiesta, the vespers of San Juan, the old fiesteros burn candles to the new. (See p. 116.) The morning of June 24, the fiesteros and the people go to the church and bring out the two images of San Juan and the tall cross. It is now the Day of San Juan (hináuki or cammaróa). Matachini, deer dancers, and pascola dance before each image, accompanied also by maestros and singers. The procession goes directly to the river, while the soldiers fire their guns. At the bank each image is lowered and given to the pascola of its party. The latter go into the water and bless the water with the images. Then permission is given to all to bathe. The pascola splash water over the images.

After the bath, the pascola take the images out of the river and stand by them on the river bank, urging people to give alms. "Do not be shamed, give alms," they cry. They disparage the saint of the other group, saying, "Don't give to that saint. He is very drunken," and similar nonsense. Everyone gives some trifling alms to each of the images.

The fiesteros now take the images back to the church with the pascola and deer dancer dancing before. Then all eat bakaváki and atole. The fiesteros go to the church cross and receive the dishes. The pascola start the dancing, saying, "Good, boys, now it is well to begin the games."

Games are held during much of the day. All weapons are taken away from the men and, if a fight develops, only fists are permitted. There is horse racing with betting during the morning. There also is a rooster pull. Roosters are buried in sand with only the head showing. A bag of money is tied to the rooster's leg. The young men ride by on horseback and try to catch the rooster. The man who is successful in pulling up a rooster is attacked by the others who try to get it from him before he can detach the money. The roosters are later divided in the middle and rope handles attached to the legs. The men line up in two parties and each person hits his opponent six times with his half rooster. At this time men often lose their tempers and fights start. Later the women fight with roosters.

Anciently, the men are said to have lined up in two opposing parties, soldiers and moros, before the church cross. They were dressed in leather leggings and a leather belt. At a signal, each man caught a member of the opposite group by the belt and tried to capture him. Those captured had to be redeemed by their friends with a small bottle of mescal.

During the festivities, if anyone rides his horse into the crowd, or otherwise becomes annoying, he is seized by the fiesteros and tied to the cross before their ramada. He is not released until his friends can raise a ransom of 4 or 5 pesos.

A bull made of fireworks was formerly used on San Juan's Day. It has not been employed for several years, and none of my informants was clear as to its use.

There is also opposition between the soldiers and the moros. They attempt to steal each other's drums and to kidnap the dancers. This goes on all day and night. It is called the kúbahit yéwami. A man will seize the drum of the opposing party. He bangs it on the floor, roof, and ramada posts, and then runs to the church cross, where he strikes it three times on the cross. Then he runs back to the ramada and repeats the performance. After three visits to the cross, he attempts to take the drum to his own ramada. His friends help him while the opposing party tries to take the drum away. If he succeeds in taking the drum, his party keeps it until it is ransomed, usually with *mescal*. On the other hand, if the would-be thief is captured, he is forced to do the torobícum, that is, he is made to cross himself and then dance. Afterward he has to drink a broth made of ground *chiltipin*.

Whenever a dancer leaves the ramada he is guarded because the opponents will attempt to kidnap him. If they succeed, the dancer is taken to the ramada of his captors. The pascola and deer dancer of that ramada refuse to dance as long as he is a prisoner, and he is forced to dance continuously until he is ransomed by his own party or rescued.

At the close of the fiesta on June 25, the moros are "confirmed." The fiesteros of the moros and those of the soldiers line up before the dance ramada, about three steps apart, the soldiers toward the church, the moros away from it. The moros have a staging of canes called a castle. Two boys, one on each side, carry the banners of their groups. They run halfway to the opposing line, wave the banners, and return, repeating three times. Then the soldiers step forward three steps, and each salutes the moro opposite him, saying, "Are you going to fight or are you going with me? See this cross and this rosary. I am going to take you." The moros reply, "I am not going. Let us better go to the castle." This is repeated three times. Then they begin to fight. If the moros succeed in placing one of the soldiers on the castle, they baptize him with chile. The soldiers attempt to pull down the castle. Finally, they pull the moros toward the church. Half way there and also at the church cross, they fight again. Then the moros are taken into the church and made to cross themselves. A rosary is placed on them and they are called the godsons of the soldiers. Up to this time they are said to be condemned. The old fiesteros are now free. The new fiesteros eat bakaváki and atole. This is the end of the fiesta and the food remaining is divided among the helpers, the pascola and deer dancers, the musicians, the maestro, and others.

VOWS, MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

The making of a vow or promise has frequently been mentioned in connection with religious rituals. The vow is an important part of the whole religious machinery, being the basis for recruiting the membership of organizations and for the performance of many noncalendrical ceremonies. Probably few Mayo or Yaqui pass a year without making a vow for themselves or on behalf of some member of the family. A vow may be taken to participate in some major religious activity, or it may be much simpler in character. Vows may be taken upon the occasion of any life difficulty, when property is lost, crops are endangered, a member of the family is ill, or as part of a request for future benefits.

Vows for children may take the form of letting the child's hair grow long. After a certain period it is cut and given to a saint as an offering. Adults sometimes take vows to wear special clothing supposed to have been worn by Christ or a saint on some occasion. The most frequently seen of these garments is a red shirt with crosses embroidered over the heart and the middle of the back. The shirt is a slip-on garment with a slight opening in front which is tied together with a cord.

When men plant, they may make vows to accompany San Juan wearing cocoon rattles (tenóvares), to secure good harvest. For the same purpose, a man may promise an olla of bakaváki or atole or a bull for a fiesta. This gift is taken to the fiesteros, and the donor does not eat of the food. A vow may also be taken to give a small fiesta or to follow the image of Christ on begging trips for a specified number of days. A sick child is sometimes promised to San Juan or to the matachini, becoming a member of the appropriate organization. For recovery from sickness one vows to become a fariseo. To find a lost cow or horse, a dozen *cahuetes* may be promised to some saint.

Before San Juan's Day, the fiesteros go from house to house with the saint's image, accompanied by those who have made vows. Many girls make this promise. Some go on foot, others on horseback; the horses are decked with flowers and sometimes have cocoon rattles on their legs. The entertainment of a saint during begging trips or giving a fiesta for the saint is almost always because of a vow.

Kissing the image of a saint is a formalized gesture without any actual contact with the mouth usually. It is little more than a duck of the head toward the image, ordinarily three times.

At religious occasions a young woman sometimes salutes an elder by putting the palms of her hands together, as though praying, before shaking hands.

Baptism is performed in the rivers, water being put on the head and a bit of salt on the lips. Confirmation is also observed, the rites being performed by the head singer and the maestro.

The view that the aged have lived good lives and are therefore holy formerly received more concrete expression. Young people always knelt and prayed, putting the hands together, whenever they met an old person.

The following miscellaneous beliefs are held:

The crosses placed in or before houses prevent the house from being struck by lightning.

Pork or pork fat are not eaten because pigs were once people.

Children are sometimes struck to make them grow when the bells ring on Easter Saturday. Fruit trees are sometimes whipped to make them grow and bear fruit.

It was ordered in heaven that only bulls should be fed to the pascola dancers.

CIRCUITS, DIRECTIONS, RITUAL NUMBERS, AND OTHER RITUAL

All ceremonial circuits are anticlockwise, except that of Judas on Easter Saturday, when he is ridden on a donkey about the stations of the cross. As this coincides with the direction of the stations of the cross in Catholic churches, one cannot be sure the anticlockwise circuit has not been derived from this. However, the anticlockwise circuit is deeply embedded in the ritual, occurring in the activities of wizards and curers. If the circuit is the result of Christian influence, one would expect that witches and wizards would reverse its direction.

There is not a great deal of direction symbolism, but east (toward the rising sun), north, west (toward the setting sun), south, and either east or up seems the usual directional sequence in ritual affairs. East is always the starting point, even in those sequences which do not follow the most common pattern, such as the "guard mount" of the Yaqui and the dipping of the image in the various directions observed in the Sunday processions. No associated color symbolism could be discovered.

The ritual number is unquestionably three. If other numbers occur ritually, they must be very insignificant. Three as a ritual number may be aboriginal here, as elsewhere in Mexico, or it may be Christian in origin.

Food was formerly blessed by making the sign of the cross over the dish. There is no crumbling of food on the ground as an offering, or pouring a libation (except by the fariseos). There is no ritual meal sprinkling. Holy water is sprinkled about the houses after death, and water is scattered by pascola dancers at the close of a fiesta. There is no use of pollen. Incense is used to some extent, particularly by the Yaqui, but the associations are all Catholic.

There is no fertility idea in connection with the lightning. Three crosses of blessed palm (frequently only one) are placed in the house to keep away lightning. Blessed salt thrown in the fire is good to keep away or stop lightning. San Ramón and San Isidro are "good" for lightning.

The usual prayer when crossing oneself is: "Name of the Father [hand to forehead] and the son [chest] spirit [left shoulder] holy [right] and to my Jesus [mouth]." (The English is literally translated.)

THE "RELIGION OF THE WOODS"

Certain phases of belief are generally referred to as being of "another religion," "old religion," or the "Religion of the Woods." The nature of these beliefs is such as to indicate they are mostly pre-Caucasian survivals, although European ideas of magic and the devil are classed with them. The "Religion of the Woods" is associated definitely with a fear of the woods, particularly among the Mayo. Only a brave man will spend a night in the woods; he must have special powers, particularly over dangerous beasts. Thus, cowboys, having strangely close associations with animals as well as the woods, have become associated with this magical quality of the forests. The pascola, deer dancer, and musicians, despite their essential importance in the Catholicized rituals, are also associated with the woods. The opening prayers of the pascola at fiestas (which no one would translate literally) are prayers to the woods and the animals therein and also to the saint on the altar for permission to carry on the performance. Dancers and musicians may learn their professions in strange ways. Beliefs in connection with hunters and hunting ritual as well as the deer "captains" are also to be associated with the religion of the woods.

Witches and wizards, disease ideas, and curers are primarily associated with the woods. One informant, under questioning which may have been leading, admitted knowledge of an ancient belief in the sun as God (sun worship formerly existed) and volunteered that the moon is also considered a God. A few still believe and have a special rosary (sic!) for the moon. Those seen appear no different from other rosaries. The moon is female, the sun male.

DISEASE AND CURING

Mayo ideas of disease seem to be a mixture of Mexican and native concepts. To some extent, the same is true of ideas of curing and magic. All concepts are vaguely expressed. Illness is primarily of two kinds: diseases sent by God, and those sent by bewitchment. In both types there are associated vague ideas of intrusion and soul wandering. In the case of sicknesses sent by God, nothing can be done. Up to a relatively short time ago, people considered to have this type of illness were abandoned and given neither food nor water, possibly a pre-white idea, as it is noted elsewhere in Northern Mexico. *Curanderos* (curers) may cure illnesses from bewitchment. In addition there are minor ills which are treated with household remedies.

Illness, in general, seems to be located in the heart, which is said to lie slightly below the end of the breastbone or about the lower edge of the stomach. The heart is identified with life. The word commonly used for heart, "Híepsi," means also life and spirit. "Súla" is another word for heart, which has not the other connotations, but it is rarely used. Illnesses of the heart may be caused by too much thought. One thinks with the heart and bad thoughts or sad thoughts, or perhaps dreams, may cause illness. There is, however, no clear definition possible between such illnesses and those sent by wizards. In cases of bewitchment intrusive objects are frequently found.

One Mayo informant said that in bewitchment the spirit left the body and went to the graveyard or wandered about. If it did not return, the sick person died. When it was seen that the sick person's spirit was wandering, neighbors threw water over the house. If this did not bring the spirit back, a curer was sent for. The same informant's son said curers sometimes dreamed where the spirit went and were thus able to cure. Roots and herbs are given to bring the spirit back.

Methods of curing vary widely. Some curers (hitoléso, hitoléro) who more specifically cure against bewitchment, smoke a cigar called séwa tamubítu, about 8 inches long, made of makúco wrapped in maize leaves and tied in three places. It is not clear whether this cigar is smoked three times or three such cigars are smoked; informants differed and were uncertain. Evidently the cigar is sometimes sent to the curer by the patient's relative. It is smoked at the curer's house, or at the house of the patient. Sometimes the smoking is performed three successive nights. If the sickness is caused by bewitchment, the curer will see some animal in his dream such as an owl, coyote, wild cat, dog, or domestic cat. These animals are the familiar animals of the wizards, who may assume the form of one of them. Other people cannot see these animals. This vision comes when the curer is "dreaming," in this case the drowsy state preceding slumber. "He dreams but does not sleep." (Considerable confusion exists here because the Spanish word *sueño* or *soñar* is used and may indicate sleepiness, the drowsy state preceding sleepiness, or a real dream. The Cáhita equivalent is apparently similarly ambiguous in its meaning.) Other information is that the curers do not sleep, but they catch the wizard when he is sleeping by burning candles, praying, and smoking.[43]

If no animals are seen, the sickness is sent by God and cannot be cured. Nevertheless, many curers, particularly those who cure without the preliminary smoking, attempt to cure illnesses which they say are not due to bewitchment but are affections of the "heart."

In another account, the hitoléro faces east, smokes three puffs, bends the right knee, then north, west, south, and again east. He also smokes lying on the ground in the same way, listening to sounds below the ground, whence comes the sickness.

The following story was told to illustrate a method of witch catching. It is abridged here:

> Once a man working in a mine was desired by a woman for her husband, but he repulsed her. Then the woman bewitched him. Another wizard offered to cure him for 20 pesos. The wizard burned candles and smoked in the house of the sick man. In the dawn he prayed and made a cord with two sticks (on the ends?) (wíteri tenkőri likúta hípuri, "little cord to seize little sticks it has"). This he buried at the door of the house. The woman strangled to death in her sleep; the man was well that day and left the same morning, for the wizard had warned him not to stay there.

In another account of curing bewitchment, the *curandero* stands in the door with a machete to keep out the sickness.[44] A sheep must be killed and much native tobacco is smoked and burned in the fire. Medicines are also given the patient. Among the things burned in the fire is *chiltipin.* Sometimes so many things are burned that one informant, slightly skeptical, stated the patients were killed by the smoke.

Some curers diagnose illness by feeling the wrists and the inner side of the elbow with the thumbs, pressing vigorously. The head (at least, in case of headache) is also pressed, particularly about the frontal portions. The "heart" is felt by pushing the hand into the abdominal region and feeling the internal organs. A gas movement in the intestines is certain evidence the heart is affected. In a diagnosis observed, the sickness was ascertained in this way. The patient complained of headache, but the sickness had "gone from the belly to the head."

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[43] The Desert Cahuila believe shamans are dangerous only when awake (Strong, 1929, p. 58).

[44] This suggests the Pueblo striking or "fighting" away the sickness with yucca switches as at Acoma (White, 1932, p. 111).

When curing for bewitchment, the curer asks what punishment is desired for the wizard. Usually the relatives say, "Let the foolish one alone." But they may tell the curer to kill the wizard, particularly if the patient is very sick. In this case the curer throws the objects removed from the patient's body, usually white two-headed worms or snakes, into the fire. Then the patient recovers immediately and the wizard dies. The objects appear to be removed by pressure and massage; no evidence of sucking could be secured. Some curers pray and sing; others do not. Sometimes two curers are needed, working three nights. Oil and salt blessed by the priest are very efficacious in cases of bewitchment. Some people, when angry, can "throw" worms into the person angering them. It is not clear whether this is a real case of bewitchment or not.

Curers are ordinarily born knowing how to cure. It is "a gift from God." They may learn from their parents, but this seems rare. They "know out of their head how to cure." They always know whether they can cure the patient or not.

It is very difficult to determine the part dreaming plays in sickness. Evidently something approaching a dream condition is sometimes used in diagnosis. If sick people dream of San Juan, San Francisco, or the Virgin of the Rosary they awaken relieved.

Herbs and roots are given very commonly in drinks, both by curers and as household remedies. One remedy noted (the case was suspected bewitchment) was to place mixtures of *mescal* and makúco on the palms of the hands and the insteps. For stomach trouble, a brew is made of *manzanillo* (a small white flower with yellow center, finely divided petals, probably a fennel, in which case the seeds have a carminative value), orange rind, horse dung, and cinnamon. *Mescal* or *manzanillo* cooked with cinnamon will "take the thought away from the heart" and cure stomach trouble. For rattlesnake bite, damp earth or a mountain plant, musúe, is put on the bite. Other remedies, mostly of a household nature, are:

Awá' bí'bam (coyote's tobacco), a tobaccolike wild plant used in powdered form for animals with worms.

Sanárowo, a yellow-flowered plant, the root of which is used in a sort of sweat bath. The patient is steamed under a blanket at midday for 3 days.

Tea of *manzanillo* is given for lung affections.

Bacómo, a river plant, the root of which is steeped in boiling water and drunk for headache and toothache.

Leaves of rúpa, a plant, are placed under the pillow to make one sleep. The Mexicans place two poppy flowers under the pillow for the same purpose.

Bibino, a mountain plant, is used for nightmare. The leaves are powdered over the face and a decoction of the flower is drunk.

Piorsia, a mountain plant, is powdered and drunk for constipation.

Wásahiwíria root is boiled and the water drunk before breakfast as a purge.

Lightning-struck wood rubbed on teeth or chewed preserves teeth.

Cícivu leaves with ashes are put on the anus, and the root is used as a laxative in childbirth.

Pitahaya stalk is a remedy for the bite of a very poisonous snake, kúkumpoli.

In some diseases the patient is given medicine to cool him; in others, medicines to heat him. One woman at Chíbuku became ill because she ate some hail in hot weather when there was a hail storm. She was sick for several months with pains in the shoulders, headaches, and eruptions of the skin. The neighbors felt the obvious remedies must be something which would heat her, something "hot." Remedies which heat or cool the patient do so because of some intrinsic quality, not because they themselves are hot or cold. Others thought this particular case was due to bewitchment.

The status and use of the híto tree is uncertain.[45] It is obviously associated with the words for curing and for sickness. Its fruit is used for food, but its bark is said to be used only for curing animals who have worms, and not in cases of bewitchment. On the other hand, the hitoléro must ask permission of "Maria Santisima and Tata Dios" to cut and cure with it.

Toloache (jimpson weed) is used externally. Informants were surprised and a little shocked at hearing of Indians who became "intoxicated" from the herb. Peyote appeared to be unknown.

The following are some stories of bewitchment and curing:

A cousin of M———'s became sick, his nose itched and he picked at it. Finally blood came out. "After a month or so he managed to stop the blood from coming out; then his nose began to grow big like a turkey's. The white doctors several times cut a piece out of the nose, but it continued swelling. After several times he began to despair. The illness was the result of a flogging he administered to a woman for taking corn from piles in his fields. He told her to stop several times; finally he whipped her. In his 'dream,' when the illness became so bad he couldn't sleep, he saw this woman dressed all in white. That is one way witches appear. But he did not believe in witches and wouldn't let his relatives do anything to the woman. Finally, he got worms in his nose and then all over his head. He could no longer endure the pain and one night he hanged himself. The witch killed him."

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[45] The sacred character of the híto tree needs further investigation. Apparently no Cáhita willingly cuts such a tree. The species has been tentatively identified as *Yacquinia pungens* A. Gray. It would be interesting to know if this is the same tree used by the Acaxee to the southeast to make wooden idols or to place beside stone idols. According to Arnaya, this tree was the *jiote* or *Pistacia terebinthus* (Doc. Hist. Mex., 1853–7, 4th ser., vol. 3, p. 72). However, this is a Mediterranean tree, not a New World plant, and could not have been known to the Acaxee, a point omitted in my paper on that group (Beals, 1933). Arnaya may have mistaken another plant for the *jiote* and according to Dr. Carl Epling, of the Botany Department of the University of California at Los Angeles, the híto, *Yaquinia pungens*, might easily be confused with *Pistacia terebinthus* by a person not a botanist. Unfortunately, there is no evidence whether the híto occurs in Acaxee territory or not. If it does, then in all likelihood it was the tree referred to by Arnaya, and would afford an interesting link between Acaxee and Cáhita.

In another case, a curer's daughter told of a man who got worms in his foot. Her father pressed out the worms and threw them into the fire. The wizard died almost immediately. Her father was not a smoking doctor; he diagnosed by pressing, and used holy oil and salt and herbs in his cures. "He saw bewitchment in his sleep." He had learned this from his mother.

Another curer, also not a smoking doctor, burned candles for 3 nights. If the patient was bewitched, he saw a coyote, cat, or dog. In curing, he made a tiny cross of brasilwood, hung it about the patient's neck, gave herbal infusions, and rubbed holy oil and salt on the seat of the pain.

A Mexican curer, curing for bewitchment among the Mayo, placed a blessed candle in the left hand of the patient and put a red cloth with a cross at each corner of the bed. He then gave drugs and herbs. The patient had an infected leg full of worms, with much swelling and pus. The curer soaked the leg and rubbed it. He asked the relatives what should be done with the wizard, but they asked only for the recovery of the patient.

A cure reported by one informant was a rattlesnake liver rubbed over the head and face when her teeth were causing headaches. The head and tail are cut off and dried, powdered, and drunk in atole as a medicine. The informant suggested the last was Mexican.

After a serious illness the house is purified as after death by burning dung, herbs, and bird's nests.

Curers are usually paid whether they cure or not but the amount varies. If they do not cure, they are merely "given something for their trouble"; a larger payment is made if the cure is effected.

Words connected with sickness and curing are:

hítto, they are curing.
híkto, to cure.
ahíto, sickness (from snake bite in context).
ahítto vare, he is going to cure.
vehatúwi, one recovers.
béha rittobáwa, one is going to be cured.
hitoléso, curer for all classes of illness caused by bewitchment. They are the ones who smoke.
héka, breath, shadow.
téka, world; where the spirit goes.
nóte, journey.
máhuwe, dream.
síbori, sickness from witchcraft.

Information on Yaqui curers, yéhihito, hitébi (aiyóa hitóme, "he knows how to cure very well"), is decidedly inadequate. Curers are still numerous and active among the Yaqui, but on personal contact refused to divulge any information, and informants knew little of the curing methods. Herbs are much used and the curers are said to exchange information. They have no part in ceremonies.

Peyote was unknown to my informants in any form. Toloache (toloácitea) is used externally only. The leaves are laid on cuts and abscesses, where they draw out the pus. For rattlesnake bite, the bite is cut in the form of a cross and the fruit of the *echos* is laid on the spot. Bwasubwíla (*yerba del indio*) is used for "surfeit." Other herbs, used for purposes unknown to informants, are *kardo*, hautória, kukupáte, hóso, *yerba manso*, bábis, and pá'uwis. Burned and powdered cholla is placed on arrow wounds. For a scorpion sting, the scorpion is rubbed on the wound.

Hrdlička states peyote was well known to the Opata and Yaqui, but this seems doubtful. The use of charred cactus on wounds may have misled him, although peyote is early mentioned for the Opata for the same purpose.[46]

WITCHES AND WIZARDS

Among the Mayo, the wizard (mó'ria) is ordinarily a separate functionary from the curer. He has a different name and his activities are always malignant. Some informants said the two functions are never combined, although it is possible for the curer to kill the wizards. Others said that in former times the stronger wizard frequently killed the weaker.

Informants were not clear on the way in which wizards acquire their powers. They seem sometimes to be instructed by other wizards. While learning, they see certain animals—owls, dogs, cats, snakes, wildcats, coyotes, sheep, pumas, and jaguars—with which they talk. Wizards also may turn themselves into these animals.

The methods of bewitching evidently are various. "Electricity" was mentioned as being connected with bewitchment. One method illustrated by an informant was a ritual performed about 2 in the morning. (As in curing, magical powers are more effective when the victim is asleep.) The wizard faces the east, standing, with a cigarette in his left hand. Taking a puff of the cigarette, a cross is marked in the air with the left hand; another puff is taken and a downward motion is made with the hand in front of the body, bending one knee at the same time. A final third puff is taken. This is repeated to the north, west, south, and again to the east. The entire ceremony is repeated three times. Wizards are also said to sing. Witches turn into red ants, big black ants, snakes, and coyotes to visit houses secretly.

Formerly, some people were said to turn themselves into coyotes to steal things. To learn this power, they talked with the coyote of the woods, the chief of the coyotes. Alternatively, the wildcat form was taken. Coyotes are not killed except when they steal things from the houses. It is doubtful if these people are true wizards. Owls are very much feared and even the calling of an owl at night causes apprehension. Wizards are said to go to meetings where they partake of feasts.

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[46] Hrdlička, 1908, p. 244; Alegre, 1841, vol. 2, p. 219. A much fuller account of Yaqui herbal remedies is given by Wagner (1936).

The following was told by a Mexican, 26 years resident in the village of Bacavachi:

> One of my cowboys (an Indian) was sick with boils. He accused another cowboy with whom he had quarreled of bewitching him. While he was sick, his wife saw an owl come to the house one night. The owl asked where the sick cowboy lived. The wife said he lived in another *ranchería* and the owl flew away. She believed it was the wife of the other cowboy coming to cause more illness.
>
> The Indians are apt to kill anyone they suspect of being a wizard. A man was killed last year (1930) in the village because he was believed to be a wizard.

A doll is sometimes made, and thorns, usually from the prickly pear, are stuck into the soles of the feet or into the head or stomach. The doll is then placed in an olla and buried in the woods. For 3 nights two candles are burned over the olla and the wizard prays backward. If the victim is a woman, the doll is dressed as a woman.

At the present time there are still a few practicing wizards. There are said still to be many in Wí'caka near Echojoa.

Yaqui wizards or sorcerers (yé'sisibo, yoésisíbome) still exist but are rare. Known wizards of either sex are executed if detected. If doubt is felt about guilt, a council is held to condemn the suspect. If the evidence is clear, execution is immediately ordered by the kobaná'u. The method of execution is to place the wizard in a cage of branches, where he is first shot, then burned. The execution is performed by the soldiers away from the village and is in charge of the war captain. (See p. 88.)

The wizard is said to be born with the power of bewitchment. The only animal the Yaqui associate with the wizard is the crow (kóni), who is said to be a son of the devil and a sign of death. The crow is also said to inform one of expected visitors, flying from the direction they are coming, circling the house three times, and departing.

The only specific method of bewitchment learned is purely European. A doll is made representing the victim and two thorns are pushed in from opposite sides. If the two thorns meet, the victim dies.

The following was told by one informant:

> Once, when a boy, the informant and friends hunted rats in the woods near Bacum. In one of the nests in a tree they found an olla, well covered, with what looked like blood and a black thing inside. They built a big fire about it. The olla exploded. In the nearest house lived a woman of about 40, sister of a man burned as a sorcerer. (See p. 88.) She died in 2 days without previous illness. She must have been a witch.
>
> A close friend of G——————'s had a mistress. She became angry with him one day because he stayed away so much. The next afternoon while working in his field, he became thirsty and went to his home with his mother. The mother brought a glass of *cebada* for him, but he went to bed burning with thirst in spite of this. After a while, his throat began to dry up and his whole body began to shrivel. After about a week, a crow came and began to stay

about the house. The friend was very worried and begged G——— to shoot it. G——— waited, hidden beneath the sahuaro on which it usually perched, but it flew away straight to the house of the mistress, circled it once, returned, and sat on another sahuaro. The next day G——— marked a cross on the lead nose of a bullet, and succeeded in shooting the crow from a great distance. When it was dead, the friend refused to see it. Next day he died. Nothing happened to the victim's mistress despite the killing of the crow, but the informant obviously felt fate had slipped up somehow.

DREAMS

The importance of dreams among the Cáhita is hard to estimate. The material is scanty and applies almost entirely to the Mayo. There are certainly no definite dream cycles as among the Yumans. On the other hand, the importance of dreams in curing performances and in securing power to bewitch suggests vaguely both the Yuman situation and the Navaho diagnostician. Dreams are an important aid to diagnosis among the Huichol. (Morgan, 1931; Lumholtz, 1903, vol. 2, p. 239.) The informant who talked most freely about dreams had been afraid to become a curer in her youth "because she would dream."

Dreams may be bad or good, but are generally regarded with suspicion. If a person dreams of a friend or relative two or three nights in succession, he will go to see the person to make sure he is all right. If one dreams of animals, particularly coyotes, he is apt to be badly frightened (máhuwe) and to cry out in his sleep. It is a sign he is going to die or that some close relative is going to die. Before M———'s father died, she cried out in her sleep many nights. "Mámahuwéha kocéka itémpo (I was frightened while dreaming)." She dreamed of coyotes, of mounting horses, of falling in the water, floods, and finally of burying her father. M——— insists one may dream good things also, but dreams are hard to interpret. "They usually foretell something, but one can't always be sure what."

When death approaches, one may also see things. Fifteen days before her sister died, M——— saw three shadows with heads enter the house in the middle of the night. Her sister called from an inner room to know who had entered the house. She felt cold all over; later she saw the shadows also. "Perhaps they were come to look at her." A little later a small dove entered and flew about the room and out again.

An informant dreamed of Dr. Parsons riding a big red horse. In the dream she said, "You will fall, *comadre*." Next day she was worried about the dream. An Indian woman formerly employed in a restaurant at Navojoa visited the proprietress "because she had dreamed about her," and wished to know if she was well.

THE HORNED WATER SERPENT AND OTHER BELIEFS

There is a fairly general Mayo belief in a kind of black snake (bákot, bá'bakot) with horns like a ram, which commands the water. Such snakes live in water holes which never become dry. When the snakes leave the water holes and go down the rivers, they make the rivers rise and flood the surrounding territory. This causes great damage, although it has a beneficial result also because the crops are sure to be good following the flood. After reaching the ocean, the snakes grow still bigger. Some say that water snakes are the condemned souls of those who had illicit love affairs with their *compadres*. After serving 100 years in the ocean, they are released.

Water snakes are sometimes killed by a being called suawáka or Juan (not Saint John). He is a fat dwarf about a yard high, naked and hatless, who shoots the snakes with a rifle. It is his shooting which causes the thunder. The following Mayo tales were told about the water serpent:

> A serpent once lived in a water hole in a cave near Alamos. A young man went into the cave for a drink, and the snake struck him with its tail and killed him. His friends sought him and followed his trail to the cave, but were afraid to enter. The father was wild with grief, and finally offered 1,500 pesos to the man who would go into the cave and rescue his son or bring out his body if he were dead. A young man offered to do this, but not until the following day. He waited until the sun was at the zenith, then he went inside. The snake was asleep. The rescuer crept past him and brought out the young man's body. "Not everyone could have done that; only someone who knew. Perhaps he knew when the snake slept."
>
> Last year (1931) there was an enormous whirlwind along the river. It made a great deal of noise and dust and raised up big sticks. It frightened everyone greatly, coiling round and round like a snake. Finally, it reached some white clouds in the sky and then hailstones like marbles fell, as though someone were shooting at an animal. The whirlwind finally went off toward the mountains. For a while we thought it was the end of the world. Some said it was a water spout, but it could not have been water or when it collapsed it would have flooded the world. Others say it was the horned snake of the water.

The lightning is considerably feared and there is a suggestion that it has serpent associations. Lightning is attracted by the snake in the deer bezoar and the thunder is associated with the killing of the horned water serpent. A cross of blessed palm is always put on the door post or an interior post of the house to prevent lightning from striking the house. Salt thrown in the fire will make it stop thundering. Mexicans use the palm in the same way. Mexicans also use salt blessed by the priest to prevent witchcraft, throwing it about the rooms or using it in the bath.

A person who learns to gamble in the woods will have special powers and will always win. A Mayo informant's uncle had tried to do this. The informant's story of his experience follows:

> My uncle observed a man who [in gambling] always won, and asked him his secret. He said he had learned in the woods, and offered to show my uncle the method. "But this is for the account of the devil. You are going to place your soul for this business," he said. My uncle was instructed to buy a new deck of cards, a new handkerchief, and two or three candles, and go to the woods with 3 or 4 pesos in his pocket. The instructor then took my uncle to a place in the woods where there was white earth (this earth seems always to have supernatural associations), spread out the handkerchief, and lit the candle beside it. Between 10 and 11 the cards were broken out and the pesos placed on the handkerchief. The instructor told my uncle to start playing by himself. "At midnight those who want to play with you will come, three men. A wind, very pleasant, will run before and three men will come, spitting, wearing black capes, with fiery eyes. When they come, do not look at them, just go on playing by yourself." It so happened. My uncle heard the wind and out of the corner of his eye saw the three men come to the edge of the wood. Their spit was like red fire and their eyes were coals. They were smoking with their left hands as they stood by the edge of the woods and watched him. My uncle now took fright and ran away through the brush. By day he returned and found his money and handkerchief where he had left them, but no sign of the men. After that both my uncle and his instructor had fever. My uncle nearly died, but the instructor said that for himself he had a term to his life and need not worry until the time came [referring to his pact with the devil].

An aunt of the same informant also had uncanny attributes. A widow, she rode like a man and did a man's work. She had many cattle and traveled the woods, hiring a woman to do the housework. She even broke wild horses. Once she tried to give the informant a snake to take home to her father. Because of her success with cattle, it was believed she was able to treat with the "people of the woods," if not with the devil himself. (No suggestion of homosexuality attached to this case.)

Certain animals in the woods were supernatural in character. The village of Chukári (house of the dogs) was named for three large "magic dogs" that once lived there. These animals apparently were harmless, but travelers in that vicinity were sometimes frightened by the dogs rushing through the woods, particularly at night. Moronkári (gray house) was similarly named for three gray or lead-colored horses that ran through the woods and frightened travelers.

Those who had the favor of the animals of the woods made good *vaqueros* (cowboys), for the animals of the woods did nothing to them. Like the gambler who learned in the woods, they had a fixed term to their life. Consequently, they could be without fear, for when the time came, death would take them and not before.

Certain plants in the woods are said to belong to Coyote. The go'ivívam (coyote's tobacco) is a wild tobacco plant. It is bad to smoke. A small, wild, round melon is the coyote's melon, while a wild flower resembling the *manzanillo* is coyote's *manzanillo*. No use is made of any of these. Coyote also has a great fondness for watermelons, which he eats in the fields at night.

The owl is variously called a wizard, a devil, and a demon. While often said to be the form which a wizard takes, if the owl calls a person by name, telling him he is asleep, the bird is considered by some to be a messenger of Christ, who has called the person. The curer cannot help such a person. The owl frequently circles the houses and talks to the inhabitants when he is planning evil. Other birds are also feared. The blackbird is a sign of death or that one has enemies. The huitakóce (not identified) also means death, and is killed if possible.

Other Mayo beliefs follow:

When there are many fleas about, it is going to rain soon. When a big dust devil comes, people make a cross with the thumb and forefinger and pray, commanding the whirlwind to go away. It is believed to be the devil come to do damage or evil. Robberies were formerly detected by witchcraft. One went to a wizard who determined the thief. (This has an aboriginal antecedent.) To make rain stop, a naked boy (who has no brothers?) goes around the house 3 times, throwing salt.

The horned water serpent has been identified by the Yaqui with the seven-headed serpent of Spanish folk lore, and is called bákot gobúsan kóbaka (serpent seven head). The water serpents live in springs and water holes. By going down the river, they cause floods. One informant attributed the upsetting of his canoe in the river during a flood to the swell caused by one of these serpents passing directly underneath him.

The people are often saved by suawáka (here not called Juan), who is the king of the animals. He is a dwarf, naked, and carries a bow. The thunder is violent when he kills a serpent. The rainbow (kurúa) is his bow. One informant suggested a connection with the small boa found locally, the *corua* or kurú'esim, a short (4 or 5 feet), thick snake.[47]

The Yaqui have other animal associations with floods and storms. When there is a *chubasco*, a fine hard rain, two birds are seen in great numbers, baisébolim (small yellowish doves), and gokobabaséla (swallow).

When there are heavy rains, small slides run the slopes of the steep mountains. They are attributed to mythical centipedes (tétan másiwi), which are taller than a man and which live in the rocks. When there are big rains or floods, the centipedes break forth from beneath the rocks and rush down the mountain sides, leaving tracks of broken rocks behind. Two such slides, visible from Vicam Station, are said to have been made by these centipedes during an 8-day rain the year Lencho was founded (about 1929).

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[47] At Cochiti the helper and protector of animals lives with the twin dwarf war gods (Goldfrank, 1927, p. 35).

DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN RELIGION AND CEREMONIALS

How far the modern Yaqui and Mayo cults retain aboriginal beliefs and ceremonial practices cannot be determined with exactness. Nevertheless, certain features may be indicated, with a fair degree of probability, as retaining influences from pre-Christian times.

Most of the practices and beliefs connected with the "Religion of the Woods" are aboriginal and are generally recognized by the Yaqui as not being a part of the Christian belief. It is true that, unrecognized by the Cáhita, certain European ideas have become included, but for the most part these are obvious, and are essentially superficial details. Probably aboriginal are hunting and fishing beliefs and ceremonies, and the wizards and curing practices. The type of religious gathering also has analogies elsewhere, and there is evidence that the assemblage of large groups at fiestas at which dances took place was not stopped but encouraged by the missionaries. At the dedication of the first church of the Zuaque there was "dancing in the plaza to the sound of drums formerly used to call to war and in the celebration of victories" (Pérez, 1645, p. 168). Among the Ahome, the Semana Santa (Holy Week), which the Indians called Pascua (as today), was celebrated by "honest" dances to which other towns were invited. Food for as many as two or three thousand was assembled for their fiestas (Pérez, 1645, p. 158). This account would appear to have aboriginal elements in it, and it also closely resembles present conditions so far as one may judge from such a general statement. Men and women danced separately and evidently only the men's dances survived (Pérez, 1645, p. 149). At the first Pascua of the Nativity celebrated by the missionaries there occurred the first use of music by the missionaries, and the first outside procession, in which the Indians took part with dances (Pérez, 1645, p. 44). Dancing in the church was definitely fostered by the missionaries, as a substitute for the dancing about the sand painting, while dancing in the ramada today is probably a survival of that in the older ceremonial hut.[48] In view of the historical documentation and the close connection of pascola and deer dancers with both the church ceremonies and the "Religion of the Woods," I think it not too romantic to consider them direct (though possibly altered) descendants of the dancers invited into the church by the missionaries of the sixteenth century. The arches erected for the reception of the image of Christ at certain *velaciónes* (page 148) have their counterpart in many of the early descriptions, and Pérez de Ribas (1645, p. 47) says it was customary to erect arches of green branches to show respect for a person received by the Indians.

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[48] The relevant passages from Pérez (1645, pp. 40–41) and the Memorias (38) are quoted in the first part of this study (Beals, 1943, pp. 66 and 83) and need not be repeated here. It is clear that the missionaries permitted the same dances to be performed in the church as were done about the sand painting.

It is plain, then, that certain features of the modern cult have aboriginal antecedents, including the dancing in the plaza, church, and procession, the nature of the fiesta gathering, and the use of arches in the festivals. It is probable that the tendency toward general masculine inebriation in the fiestas is also a survival of older patterns. There is lacking direct evidence that the form of religious order (fiesteros), the clowning fariseos, and the clowning behavior of the pascola dancers, the use of masks, or the form of the dances themselves are aboriginal. Some reasonable inferences may be drawn here, though.

With regard to the fiesteros, I am inclined to believe, in view of the tendency of the missionaries to adapt what they could of native customs, that their organization is at least built on some sort of earlier religious organization. From distributional evidence, I am convinced the deer dance, and hence probably the whole cycle of animal dances, is aboriginal in its main outline. For similar comparative reasons, I am inclined to consider the fariseo maskers and the principal behavior of the pascola dancers as built on aboriginal substructures. The matachin dancers present a more difficult case. Matachin dances are reported over wide areas of Mexico and the Southwest. Despite their general European character, some elements, such as the feather wand, are suggestive of Indian origins. The Aztecs are reported to have had a dance which resembled the matachin dancers of Italy, and this may be the origin of the name as applied to the dances elsewhere. Until more complete comparative data are available, I would be loath to say that the matachin dances are wholly European in their origin.

In the period since the missionaries there are a few references to the Cáhita dances. Velasco (1850, p. 74) mentions the Tesguin, Pascola, Venado, and Coyote among the Yaqui. Tesguin sounds wrong here as it resembles the Tarahumara word for maize-beer (Basauri, 1929, p. 40), which would suggest that it is a Tarahumara dance. On the other hand, my Mayo informants claimed four animal dances once existed, and the names they remembered correspond with the other three given by Velasco. McKenzie (1890, p. 300) describes Yaqui Pasoli (sic) dances in which a cross with the image of a saint was erected and candles burned. The dancers tied small shells about their feet (a plausible mistake for the cocoon rattles which were probably what he really saw) and carried gourd rattles, the faces masked ". . . in imitation of the animal or mythical being from whom the dance is derived, and the dancers imitate the actions of the particular animal as the bear, deer, dog, etc." The drum and reed flute are the only instruments mentioned.

Although informants said that the dances have lost some features in the last 50 years, the changes have not been great. In view of the historical indications of the introduction of dances into church and fiesta, they probably present a number of features of aboriginal origin. The drum and flute of the pascola dancers, the rasping sticks, and the gourd water drums of the deer dancer, may be assumed to be survivals. The same is probably true of the pattern of the pascola dance, together with the major part of the costume. Where the cross appears, particularly on the masks, it probably is introduced, although the cross existed in aboriginal America, and among the Southeastern Yavapai it was used by the masked performer (Gifford, 1932, pp. 237–8). The copper bells on the coyoles may be a post-Spanish introduction; on the other hand, they may have been traded in even before Spanish times as copper bells are known archeologically from nearby points.

The masks are a troublesome problem, but they are probably of aboriginal origin. It is true that early references to masks among the Cáhita are sadly lacking, a puzzling deficiency in view of the considerable amount of descriptive material written by the early Spanish missionaries. I know of only one rather late reference to masks among the Ocoroni. On the other hand, masks are evidently aboriginal both in Mexico and the Southwest.

It appears to me also that there is a logical argument for the aboriginal character of masks in the way they are used. In the first place, the missionaries would have made no attempt to stamp out Indian customs which were not objectionable to the church. There is direct evidence that they encouraged the pelota and kick race games of the region as well as "honest" dances (without sexual indecency). To the intelligent missionary—and evidence seems to show that the early missionaries among the Cáhita were above average—animal impersonating dances may well have been an interesting side show to be held during the church festivals. The missionaries might easily have been unaware of religious associations in animal impersonations. The missionaries might also have thought it advantageous to transfer dances associated with rituals to a place in Catholic festivals. The pascola dancers take just such a place in the present festivals. Such a role would have done little violence to Catholic ideas in a century when dances in the churches were known in Spain.

What changes, then, would the missionaries have made in the Indian dances? They would, perhaps, have shorn the dances of visual obscenities, if such existed, as well as of the religious ideas they possessed. But the religious ideas back of an animal impersonating dance in all probability were too vague to worry the good fathers much, particularly as they were disposed to see religion primarily in terms of organized cults, of altar, idol, and priest. The missionaries did, however, make a point of teaching the Indians to play European musical instruments. It is evident, then, that directly or indirectly, the missionaries caused the inclusion of the harp and violin in the dance music.

It is quite possibly significant in this connection that in dancing to the introduced musical instruments, the harp and violin, the pascola dancers do not wear their masks over their faces. Only in dancing to the drum and flute, instruments of undoubted aboriginal provenience (even though their form may have suffered modification through white influence), does the pascola dancer draw his mask over his face. Had the missionaries introduced the masks, it seems logical to presume that they would have introduced the masks in connection with their own musical instruments as well. Moreover, the dancing with the masks is certainly less European in character than that without the masks, although European influence is doubtful in either case.

If I am not mistaken, another point of interest is that the masked religious dancers of medieval Europe impersonated evil. They represented the devil or some other evil force or individual. The pascola dancer in no sense and at no time appears to have any association with evil, even when masked, despite his connection with the woods. At times, while masked, he even delivers religious speeches and performs religious ceremonies directly connected with Catholic saints. This would seem definitely to dissociate the pascola mask from the forces with which the European mask was associated. If the missionaries introduced the mask, it is to be expected that it would be in connection with the representation of evil, and it seems reasonable to assume that some remnant of this attitude would persist. Neither does it seem likely that the missionaries would have associated or permitted the association of the cross with the mask if implications of the latter had been objectionable. The cross on the pascola mask suggests Christian approval of an aboriginal article, just as it does in the case of the rasping sticks.

It will be noted that these last arguments would favor the view that the fariseo mask was introduced. However, in view of the wider distribution of this type of mask and its highly aboriginal character, it seems to me possible that the fariseo mask is an adaptation of a clown element in the aboriginal religion such as we find in the Southwest. To the missionary the function of the clown in burlesquing religious ceremonies, his obscenities and jokes, would have seemed evil. His functions could easily be incorporated in the representation of the fariseo in teaching the Indians, as they undoubtedly were taught, the elements of the Passion play performed in connection with Lent and Easter. The actions of the fariseos are distinctly similar to those of Southwestern clowns, and it is quite plausible that there we have not a pure survival, but the adaptation of an aboriginal survival by the missionaries, an adaptation which has altered entirely the function of the original complex with little change in its details.

Perhaps these arguments are incorrect. Certainly they smell slightly of scholasticism, but scarcely more so than the contrary hypothesis which would have dancers wearing introduced masks saying prayers to the animals of the woods.

A number of ritual features must be accepted on a priori grounds as being wholly or mainly aboriginal, such as the ceremonial usages of tobacco and the "incense burner." Most of these I believe to be adequately described and discoverable in the descriptive account.

On the importance of San Juan Bautista in the Cáhita cult, it is impossible to give a conclusive answer. Undoubtedly, some of this importance is due to various early European influences. The first town in Cáhita territory, Carapoa on the Fuerte River, had San Juan Bautista as its patron saint. The survivors of that town played an important part in the earliest missionary efforts, and there are many references in the early mission literature which suggest that San Juan was in some sense regarded as the patron of the whole Sinaloa mission enterprise. Another possible reason for San Juan's popularity is that the festival day falls at about the beginning of the rainy season and hence was a good substitute for any existing rain festivals.

There are probably some post-Spanish introductions which are actually of Aztec or other southern Indian origin. The tekio, or communal-work idea, so far as it existed among the Cáhita, was, of course, Aztec. In the religious cult, the use of the eggs filled with confetti on Easter Saturday might be of Aztec derivation also, for at the fiesta of flowers (suchiylluitl) held twice yearly in Mexico, young men ran through the streets at dawn smashing egg shells (Cervantes, 1914, pp. 59–60).

The organization of Yaqui and Mayo ceremonials, with its emphasis on societies and the large number of Southwestern parallels, also suggests development from an aboriginal pattern. One can hardly imagine the missionaries fostering such a group as the susuákame in any case, and if the present-day ceremonial groupings were founded by the missionaries, one must at the very least concede that they have absorbed much from some aboriginal prototypes. Even the matachin groups, for which the strongest probability of mission origin exists, present a form of organization and method of recruitment that is native in character.

To sum up, it is suggested that not only are the admittedly non-Christian phases of supernatural practice and belief largely of aboriginal origin, but that many features of the dances, paraphernalia, and organization associated with Christian ritual are likewise aboriginal or derived from aboriginal prototypes. The survivals associated with Christian ritual survived primarily through toleration, adaptation, or failure on the part of the missionaries to understand underlying significances.

RHYTHMS OF ACTIVITY AND THE ADJUSTMENT TO WHITE CULTURE

In studying groups as numerous as the Yaqui and Mayo, the single observer, even with unlimited time, cannot achieve a complete or detailed analysis of the culture. At no point really can he state definitely, "This is a true picture of all Cáhita behavior." Even less can he hope to know the wide range of individual variation and nonconformity, although he may hope to catch and express cultural norms with some accuracy. The rich play of personality against personality and the interaction of culture and the individual are bound to elude him in the first confused search for norms within a rich and hitherto unfamiliar culture type.

At the same time, the ethnographer inevitably becomes aware of trends and currents. Almost unconsciously and intuitively, interpretative generalizations are made about the character and problems of the life and culture he is studying, generalizations which are lacking in sufficient concrete supporting data to give them full validity. Despite the inadequate factual background, such impressions often are useful to the reader who can, through his own field experience, weigh their virtues and faults. For such readers the present section is offered. I hope that with this introduction and disclaimer, the following general remarks will not serve as a final word, but rather as a stimulus to further and deeper probing into the fundamental characteristics of Cáhita life.

The central core of Mayo life (and Yaqui life insofar as it pursues a normal course undisturbed by revolt) is concerned with the fields. Even for those who do not have their own land and hence must work for others, life revolves about the succession of planting and harvesting. There are periods of ceremonial activity, seasons of lesser animation due to climatic extremes, and secondary occupations, such as wood cutting and small household industries; but agriculture furnishes the thread of continuity and the basic pattern of Cáhita life.

The real division of the Cáhita year comes in the summer. This is the rainy season as well as the time of intense heat. Beginning in early May, or even April, the temperature mounts to well over 100° Fahrenheit almost daily. By midsummer, temperatures of 120° to 125°, or more, are fairly frequent. About June 1 the rains begin, heavy torrential thunderstorms. The rivers are high; the roads frequently are impassible. Except immediately after rains, though, the humidity is apt to be fairly low.

The new ceremonial year begins near the end of July with the holding of the púti, the first fiesta of San Juan. In August, activity of importance must begin. The pitahayas are ripe, and are gathered through August. There is plenty of food. Fields must be irrigated while the waters are high in the rivers and arroyas. By the end of September, or before, the fall crops of corn, beans, and squashes must be planted. After September, in the Yaqui River the rice harvest is in full swing, to be followed by the planting of wheat on the same lands. This affords work for many Cáhita, although they do not raise rice themselves. In both the river valleys there are peas and tomatoes to plant for white farmers, as well as care to be given the corn and bean crops. If the rains extend well into the fall, much land which cannot be irrigated may be planted to wheat. Sometimes fairly heavy rains occur as late as December, although ordinarily a heavy equinoctial storm in late September marks the end of the rainy season and the extreme heat.

The beginning or middle of November sees the start of the fall harvest for corn, beans, and squash. By mid-December it is virtually over and winter is well under way. Nights are cold and days frequently are both cloudy and, in contrast to summer, quite chilly. All activities are reduced to a minimum, and most household industries, such as blanket weaving, cease entirely. On the lands of white farmers, the rice harvest is practically over. Most of the wheat is planted, but harvest of the tomato, pea, and melon crops for export to the United States usually begins.

In December or January there are normally one or two heavy winter rains, falling mostly in the mountains, which flood the lowlands along the rivers and provide the necessary water for irrigating fields for the spring crops. By the middle of December the Indians have begun to plant garbanzos, and by mid-January wheat, corn, and bean planting are under way. Wheat and garbanzo planting must be finished before mid-February. January, for all its planting, is not an excessively busy month, for the winter planting season is a more leisurely time than the summer season. During the month, two additional fiestas of San Juan are held, the bahíto and hísimo.

About the end of January, the weather becomes warmer. Blanket weaving begins again, although most of the women are only spinning thread. Other household industries are more actively pursued. In February, the Lenten season starts with its many fiestas and Friday processions. On the lands of white farmers, harvest of the vegetable crops is usually over by the end of this month.

In March or April occur the elaborate fiestas of Easter Week, terminating the period of artificial sobriety connected with the Lenten season. The winter is definitely over. Usually there are no more rains; the sky is cloudless, the air is clear. Crops are in and need only nominal care. If the winter showers were sufficient, the woods and desert are full of flowers. The parakeets begin to return and the shrubs are full of birds, including thousands of cardinals and other brightly colored species. Fruit is abundant, especially oranges, limes, and papayas. Blankets and other household products are plentiful. Everyone seems busy but no one is working too hard. Despite Lenten restrictions, this is a cheerful season for the Indian.

Sometime in April it begins to be fairly warm, often hot, according to most standards, but not the local ones. It is a leisurely month, on the whole. Even the latest corn and bean plantings are over. There are garbanzos to eat green, but no harvesting. May is hot, but summer is not considered to have started. The garbanzo and wheat harvests are under way, and it is a race to get them finished before the summer rains start. The corn and bean harvest also starts in this month.

June sees the end of the ceremonial year with the fiesta of San Juan on the 24th. For 6 weeks the moros have been touring the countryside. Watermelons are ripe and the spring harvests are mostly over. The heat is now intense. On the lands of white farmers, rice planting has been going on for some time, and should be practically over by the end of the month. Because of the heat, activity is reduced to a minimum.

These periods of alternate activity and relative quiet have their parallel to some extent in the smaller cycle of the week. The week ends are periods of rest and lessened activity. Among the Mayo, the fiestas all occur on week ends. If there is no fiesta, for a substantial minority the week end is a period of drinking and carousing, especially among the Mayo. The towns are crowded and there is a great deal of drinking starting Saturday afternoon and often continuing until Monday night. The more conservative majority, and particularly the older people, do not indulge in these prolonged drinking bouts.

There are other minor recurring rhythms in the life of individuals which cannot be said to affect the life of the entire community. Spring is primarily the hunting and fishing season, and individuals who follow these pursuits are more occupied during the spring months than at other times. This affects only a small part of the population. Blanket weavers, dancers, fireworks makers, and other specialists also have their own special cycles of activity and rest.

The varying activity cycles are obviously adjusted in part to white culture, especially in reference to economic pursuits. Large numbers of both Mayo and Yaqui work periodically on the farms of whites. The difference in agricultural pursuits makes this possible without great interference with the farming activities of the Indian. Rice, garbanzo, and winter vegetables require considerable amounts of labor for limited periods. These periods do not coincide with the peak periods of native farm work.

In other respects the adjustment to white culture made by Yaqui and Mayo is rather different. On the Yaqui River, the areas of white and Indian settlement are clearly demarked. White activity is mostly in the irrigated region south of the river. The Indians are mostly along the river and on the north side of the stream. The Mayo, on the other hand, live mixed among white settlements and farms. The Mayo are in constant contact with whites and under white observation. These factors are correlated with distinctive reactions and adjustments to whites and white culture.

Mayo adjustment has in some measure been less successful in preserving native standards intact. On the other hand, it has seen a great expansion in numbers and in area occupied. Both peoples have resisted white culture. But the Mayo has done it by turning inward, by concealing in some degree his feelings and activities from whites. The commonest white characterization of the Mayo is that he is "muy cerrado (very shut)." The Mayo may live *among* whites, but he rarely lives *with* them. When whites begin to settle in a town, the Mayo moves to the outskirts; when the town becomes predominantly white, he moves into *rancherías* in the brush. Constantly he maintains a reserve before and among whites. Not unfriendly usually, the Mayo simply talks as little as possible, particularly about those things which are most important to him. An inquiry into such a problem as why a man becomes a fariseo is met with astounding and irritating vagueness. The son of one of the Mayo families I knew best became a fariseo. Despite my extremely friendly relations with the family, I never did succeed in learning the circumstances involved. There is no indication of any esoteric reasons for such a difficulty; rather is it typical of the practiced, though I believe usually unconscious, evasiveness which is the basis of the Mayo technique for maintaining a cultural integrity in the face of a pervasive and aggressive white culture. The Mayo may have a white neighbor across a brush and barbed wire fence, and he may work on his neighbor's farm. If the neighbor is friendly, the Mayo may invite him to a ceremony in the house, but not for many years, if ever, will the Mayo willingly tell him anything that really matters to the ethnographer.

In contrast to the Mayo attitude, the Yaqui is frank and aggressive. The only subjects on which I was aware of reticence, once I had established friendly relations, were witchcraft and curing techniques. The Yaqui often leaves home to work for white farmers. Yaquis are the laborers and miners throughout northern Sonora. Yet they live to themselves if it is possible, and they have fought vigorously to prevent whites from settling among the Yaqui villages. On the other hand, there is quite conscious acceptance of some aspects of white culture. The Yaqui have long adapted the Spanish alphabet to writing Yaqui. Not a few town secretaries use the typewriter, while most Yaqui clamor for plows, wagons, irrigation pumps, and tractors. I once was secretly approached by a representative of the still rebellious group living in the Sierra de Bacatete in 1932; the agent drove his own automobile to the town in which I was staying. On the other hand, the Yaqui want no priests to interfere with their beliefs and ceremonies, no government officials to supplant their own officers and interfere with customs, nor any Mexican neighbors to settle on land the Yaqui consider to be theirs. The Yaqui adjustment to white culture is part of an effort to master their own destiny, conscious, selective, and aggressive.

MAYO PACIFISM; YAQUI NATIONALISM

In no small degree, the differences between the Yaqui and Mayo adjustments to the encroachments of white culture seem to be rooted in fundamental differences in the patterns of the two cultures, differences which historically are symbolised by the pacifism of the Mayo and the warlike nationalism of the Yaqui. Yaqui and Mayo cultures modernly are very nearly identical in content, save for the greater disintegration of the latter. Anciently, the same must have been true to an equal, or perhaps greater extent, for the early writers emphasize the homogeneous character of Cáhita culture. Yet despite this near identity, there exists modernly, and evidently existed anciently, a profound difference in temperament between the two peoples, a difference that must have had some reflection in the aspect of the culture if not in its content.

There can be little question that the differences existing today in part are ancient. The Mayo never resisted the Spanish. They welcomed missionaries, in fact requested their presence before the Spanish were ready to advance into Mayo territory. So far as the data show, the Mayo have never risen against the whites except at Yaqui instigation. On the other hand, the Yaqui successfully resisted the Spanish in the beginning. They finally accepted missionaries in return for peace and almost complete autonomy throughout the Colonial period. Since then they have risen repeatedly at every attempt to interfere with their semi-autonomous status.

Modernly, this difference is readily apparent. The Mayo has no sense of nationalism, no consciousness of his people as a group, no tribal cohesion. The Yaquis, on the contrary, have a fierce pride of race, an almost rabid nationalism. One is reminded irresistibly of Kroeber's picture of the Mohave:

> The settlement is the political and social basis of life in California. The tribe, at least as a larger unit, exists barely or not at all. The reverse is the case

> with the Mohave. They think in terms of themselves as a national entity, the *Hamakhava*. They think also of their land as a country, and of its numberless places. They do not think of its settlements. Where a man is born or lives is like the circumstance of a street number among ourselves, not part of the fabric of his career. The man stands in relation to the group as a whole, and this group owns a certain tract rich in associations; but the village does not enter into the scheme. They liked to see lands; timidity did not discourage them, and they were as eager to know the manners of other peoples as they were careful to hold aloof from adopting them. [Kroeber, 1925, p. 727.]

Unlike the Mohave, the Yaqui, perhaps inevitably as the result of their greater numbers, think not only in terms of the tribe but in terms of the pueblo or town. Nevertheless, the interests of the towns must give way before the interests of the tribe. Tribal decisions, perhaps, but not necessarily through Caucasian influence, are sufficiently powerful to depose strictly town officials who resist them.

Another striking contrast is the drabness of Mayo history compared with that of the Yaqui. There is no single Mayo individual's name appearing in the Spanish records of their history. With the Yaqui the reverse is true. From the first leader to Banderas, Cajeme, Tetabiate, Matus, and others, the Yaqui have had and still have intelligent and courageous leaders whose personalities have impressed themselves on history. These leaders have acted as tribal representatives, as heads of the *nación*, not of village or town. Nation or tribe are common words on every Yaqui's tongue; they are rarely, if ever, used by the Mayo. Nearly every Yaqui knows tribal boundaries, tribal rights, tribal claims against the whites—things foreign to Mayo thinking. Over and over informants speak of the group as an independent nation, and, naively enough, discuss treaties and the possibility of negotiating with foreign powers on an equal basis. The difference here is perhaps in what is regarded as the "community" in the sociologist's sense. The Yaqui community is the tribe; the Mayo community the pueblo, or even the subvillage, and horizons are correspondingly restricted. A Mayo may sometimes speak with pride of "our pueblo" to distinguish old Navojoa from the modern Mexican town, but it is not particularly common to have even a community of this size definitely recognized as playing a role in the life of the individual.

One might expect, then, a different emotional and psychological bias in the two groups. This exists, certainly, and Benedict's (1932) classification in terms of behavior norms is immediately suggested. It is at once apparent that the classification, if valid, is not revelatory in this instance. Unquestionably, both cultures must be classed as Apollonian and realistic, as much so as the Pueblos. All life situations are handled by formula. Neither culture has any place for unrestrained emotion. Even the hilarious excitement of Easter Saturday or San Juan's Day is in a Christianized ritual in which all activity is carefully canalized into a fixed, formal behavior. Among the Yaqui, even warfare is patterned and confined. Men attack and retreat upon order, and the early chroniclers note as strange that not only the Yaqui but all the Cáhita attacked without any war cry and fought in silence, and in order, with a leader who directed but did not participate. Death is bereavement, not a supernatural fear situation; mourning is ritual. In but one case, during several funerals attended, was there a tear shed or an unritual expression of sorrow voiced. This is again typical of the Apollonian Pueblos, although perhaps even more extreme.

Evidently Benedict's classifications do not cut deep enough in this particular case. Here are two cultures side by side, both Apollonian, both realistic in their attitude toward life situations, with almost identical content and pattern, yet there is a fundamental configurational difference which expresses itself in the reactions of practically every individual of the two tribes.

The differences already discussed in connection with the adjustments to white culture must be reviewed and amplified here. The Mayo accepts his status within Mexican culture and compromises rather than protests. Obstinately devoted to his own ritual, he will evade conflict with authority to the extent of moving fiesta dates when they do not meet with the approval of the Mexican authorities. He permits visitors and spectators throughout the ceremonies. He is rarely a good or fluent conversationalist, particularly with strangers, of whom he is wary and suspicious. The Yaqui refuses compromise except as a last resort when an appeal to force appears useless or ill-advised. He permits no onlookers at fiestas; Mexican soldiers and ethnologists alike, if they wish to view ritual, must become, in form at least, participants. As suspicious of strangers as is the Mayo, he is neither particularly wary nor shy, but sturdily self-reliant. Upon very short acquaintance, he will talk freely and aggressively. The only inhibition to Yaqui conversation is the fear of giving information of value to the Mexicans and of being reprimanded by the hierarchy.

Perhaps these differences are but a reflection of the different world outlook, springing again out of the community type. Not only does the Yaqui view his surroundings in terms of the tribe, but he is conscious of a world beyond the tribe. Aboriginally, he was a raider. The Mayo asked for missionaries partly because they expected the protection of Spanish soldiers against the Yaqui. The Guzmán party found the Pima Bajo territory upstream from the Yaqui practically depopulated as a result of a "war" waged against them by the Yaqui. Modernly, the Yaqui is no less inclined to wander and to know other peoples. Where the Mayo knows only the Yaqui and Tarahumara, the last vaguely, the Yaqui know Mayo, Tarahumara, Pima Bajo, Opata, Pima, Apache, Seri, and Waicuri. Many have been in the

United States; one informant even knew the Pueblos. Throughout Sonora, they travel where work is to be had, but the majority return sooner or later to their beloved river and the Sierra de Bacatete. They know there are other peoples and other ways of living, although they have little interest in adopting other ways (save in a few things such as automobiles, farm machinery, and such practical matters).

Essentially the difference here is that between the aggressive, adventuring spirit, and a passive spiritlessness, or something which rather closely approximates it. The Mayo may perhaps be characterized as Apollonian, realist, passive; the Yaqui as Apollonian, realist, aggressive.[49] Furthermore, how may the whole question of cultural intensities be fitted into the scheme? Surely they affect configurations no less importantly. The modern Yaqui and Mayo are to be distinguished by the intensity of cultural expression. Mayo culture, similar as it is to Yaqui, functions at a low energy level; it lacks vigor, while Yaqui culture is vital and intense.

The ultimate distinction between Yaqui and Mayo may, of course, be this problem of intensity, but I am inclined to think this is a modern development. If Mayo cultural drives had always been geared to slow speed, it is hard to conceive of the slow southward drift in post-Columbian times being successful in completely obliterating the peoples of the Fuerte River as it has.

As to causes of these differences, one finds even tentative explanations difficult. The Yaqui were a frontier people in a sense. Northernmost of the Cáhita-speaking peoples, they were close pressed by the marauding parasitic Seri, but this could hardly account for a nationalistic feeling. To the south, the Tehueco and Zuaque were equally warlike, but the peoples of the Fuerte River failed to become united in a large social unit as did the Yaqui. Even the Mayo were loosely united for the length of their river, although the union acquired no true nationalistic significance. Exposed constantly to attack by the Yaqui on the one hand and the Tehueco on the other, enemies far more dangerous than the Seri, the Mayo became neither warlike nor politically self-conscious. It may be, of course, that conflict with neighbors speaking a mutually intelligible language and possessing the same culture was less stimulating than the conflict with the Seri, Pima Bajo, and perhaps Tarahumara indulged in by other tribes, but this seems fantastic as a solution. Or, what is perhaps more plausible, the whole pattern of aggressive nationalism is but a sporadic reflex of the nationalism of the less advanced tribes of the lower Colorado. This is only removing the question a step further away. In any case, one would expect more important repercussions from the much more highly integrated political institutions bordering the Cáhita to the south in Culiacan. Yet, although historical data are inadequate, apparently the southern Cáhita resembled the Mayo in being nonaggressive and nonnationalistic.

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[49] Without wishing to enter into extended discussion, if, to discriminate between peoples so closely allied, classification of the type suggested by Benedict requires the addition of another category, one is inclined to wonder whether any extension of her classification beyond the selected list of peoples she has used would not discover a similar inadequacy. Cultural configurations may in part be due to the type of apperception of the exterior world and the character of the emotional releases favored by the culture, but it would seem other factors must be considered before an all-embracing classification may be arrived at.

It may be, of course, that the entire range of differences here discussed is post-Columbian. Certainly, it is in part. One feels the less integrated, less internally vigorous character of Mayo culture to be modern. It smacks of a decay which is absent from Yaqui culture. On the other hand, particularly in view of the documentary evidence, it seems likely that the aggressive nationalism of the Yaqui represents an ancient differentiation from the Mayo.

As indicated above, the contrasts between Yaqui nationalism and Mayo pacifism are but the more obvious symbols of deeply pervasive differences in cultural aspect, feeling, and attitudes. These differences are not reflected in the objective characters of the cultures. Material culture, institutions, officials, belief, the details of ritual, the degree of absorption of white culture, and the major cycles of activity are remarkably alike. It is in adaptation to the present Mexican culture, in the character of individual and group responses to a wide variety of situations, that the Yaqui and Mayo are far apart. Somehow, meaning and, to a much less degree, the function of culture elements are subtly altered. The origins of these differences perhape lie too far in the past to be discoverable, but their present basis and their effects upon individual and group behavior are perhaps the most important and interesting subjects for further investigation among the Yaqui and Mayo.

TALES AND STORIES

Cáhita tales represent several types so far as may be judged from the scanty collection. One type is mixed Spanish-Indian, such as "The First People" (largely Spanish), or "The Making of the World" (Spanish with significant Indian elements). There are also purely Spanish wonder tales such as the "Giant Harvest," semihistorical tales such as the "First Conquest," and, finally, almost pure Indian stories such as "Coyote and Iguana" and "Coyote and the Bull." Probably also Indian is the fariseo story already given (p. 99). In the first type a noteworthy point is the confusion between Christ and Adam, Cristo Adan. This is an identification of the Deity with ancestral man. In the account of the deities represented in the sand painting (Beals, 1943, p. 67), a confusion apparently existed as to whether the figures represented deities or the first ancestral pair. It is possible that the present confusion of Christ and Adam thus arises out of an aboriginal set of concepts likewise confused.

The stories were all told in Spanish. In translation, I have reproduced the stylistic peculiarities of the narrators so far as was possible.

THE FIRST PEOPLE

They say that Cristo Adan made an orchard with many fruits. He left a man and a woman to take care of it. They were naked and the woman had the body of a girl without breasts. They ate the fruits of the orchard, whatever they could find. Cristo prohibited one fruit, the apple, the big one of the Sierra. I can't remember the name of the man and woman. Right away they ate the apple. The woman ate the apple first. "How good this fruit is," she said, "try it." The man bit it, and said, "Truly it is good." The owner, Cristo Adan, came back to the orchard, shouting. These two took fig leaves and made breechclouts. They hid apart from each other and turned their heads away from Cristo when he arrived because they were ashamed. The woman's breasts had begun to come, too. Said Cristo Adan, "You ate the fruit I told you to care for. Now," said Adan, "you are going to have family." He gave them a house and some clothes and put them out of the orchard. From them came all the people. I think this conversation [story] came from before the time of the king [that is, before Spanish times].

THE MAKING OF THE WORLD

Before this world was formed lived the king, Cristo. A condemned serpent threatened to make a flood. The king said, "The only way to prevent the flood is for each family to give a young daughter." In the middle of the night everyone went and threw a daughter in the water where the serpent was. The king had three daughters he loved very much, but he gave the youngest. Soon the serpent demanded another. The king said, "Now there are no more people. Do what you want to do." Then he asked a familiar what to do. This old man made a house of wood and the *compadre* [king] made a room in the house, putting in wood, provisions for a year and a half, and water, and all the things they needed. The two families entered the houses. Then all the world trembled and the water began to rise. It began to rain heavily and there were violent winds. The water lifted the house and it floated up and down on the water. They had provisions for a year or year and a half, two head of cattle, and, I think, a young bull and another pair of animals. Finally, the water rose up nearly to heaven; in all the world there was barely room for the house. These families floated up and down living on the provisions they had in the house and the world ended.

Then the water lowered slowly. In one year it all went down. The earth was just mud like atole. Only these two families escaped, they say. Then Cristo Adan went about all the world in the mud, giving boundaries to towns, the old ones. Over where there are rocks [indicating east] he drank, leaning down on hands and knees. The mud hardened and one can see the prints still. He left his trail all over the world. He left it at Bayahori [west from Navojoa, although the informant pointed north, the direction it would be from the pueblo where he was born], in the east, in all the four corners, blessing the world again and making a new accounting with the people. He made the Sierra, heaping up mud with his hands; he made the river and all this sea-plain, the dusty ground good for sowing. Then he asked the yoris, the blondes [whites or warriors] and the yoremes [Indians]. First he asked the yoris, "You, sons, what do you want to maintain yourselves?" is what he said. They answered, "Why, money, to maintain ourselves," And a second time asking the yoremes, "You, sons, what do you want?" "May it be this dusty earth and the river, if you will, to sow beans and maize." "It is good, children, but you will have to work."

Then he gave the yoris a bar, spade, hoe, and machete. "But how are we to work with these?" they asked. "As you can. There is money under the ground." Then Cristo Adan dug a hole in the ground to show where the veins were. "Now you have the knowledge how to work. Work and make money," he said to the whites. Then he gave the yoremes the dusty ground with the river and all the water and food there. He gave the deer, peccary, jackrabbits, and cottontails, and the pitahaya bird. "Catch them as you are able and eat them and sow seeds, chick peas, beans, maize, squash." To the yoremes he gave an old shovel, an old machete, an old knife, an old *coa*, a bar, and a yoke of oxen and a wooden plow and a *ganancha* [hook?] of cane. He sent San Isidro then to show them how to use these things and to plant. He told them when they ended their work and others needed help to help them, to send them a son. If they needed food, to help them. "Loan each other what you need, *coas* to sow with, or other things. But, son, don't loan or sell any piece of land, even though small, to the whites. If one or two enter, then they are going to take away everything and they are going to fight a great deal." It was perhaps then that was left the plan of the villages, their jurisdiction and boundaries, telling which villages bounded on which; and a saint was left in each town, a short thick saint of solid gold, San Miguel de Cristo. The people of that time didn't buy anything, but the government of that time, perhaps there in Mexico [City], gave them the plans and the saints. They came by boat and were landed at the port of Agiabampo. When they [the plans] were received, they were put in ollas and sealed. They were buried beneath the altar where Mass is said and no one knew where they were but the sacristan kobanáros.

[The following comments were made at various times referring to the above story:]

When Christ made the world, he put letters on the rocks to show where the villages would be.

The religion of today, the ordering of the fiesteros, the fariseos, and so on was entirely formed when the world was formed. Perhaps it was written in the plans how they were to be; they had written all that should be done. Thus is it done where lives Cristo Adan, just as we do it here. At this time [Lent], I think Cristo is a prisoner there now.

The deer and peccary were given to the Indians by the Government and the Sierra was given to the Spanish to work the mines. They [the Spanish] planted little then. Food was of no value. One gave permission to one's relatives to take things from the fields. Presents were made to those without relatives if one had things to give. The yoris still do this to some extent. We believe God commanded all this arrangement.

Before, when the Government formed the villages, it gave the plans and boundaries of the villages of the Indians—Tesia, Navojoa, Cohuirimpo, Echojoa, Huperi, Santa Cruz—and gave land for fields, land for animals, and it gave the sea, the salt fields, and all the animals in the sea to the villages of Huperi, Santa Cruz, and Echojoa. Formerly salt was not sold, but the villages which owned salt gave permission to others to get it.

Echojoa is the first village. Formerly each of the 11 villages had an image of Cristo in pure gold, but when the first Spanish came they robbed the churches. They say that in Huperi and, perhaps, Echojoa they still have their images hidden.

THE FIRST CONQUEST

When the first conquest was in the world, the Yaqui were in that place. There they lived when Father Kino (sic!) came. It was he who conquered all this region and built the first churches in the eight Yaqui towns. The walls of the first church of Torin are still to be seen, of stone with mortar made by burning oyster shells. The outlines of the shells may still be seen in places in the mortar.

THE GIANT HARVEST

A man began to sow. The maize grew and at harvest time it was so big and the ears were so high from the ground it needed a ladder of three steps to reach them. He made a big pile of the corn and hunted a cart to carry it to his house. After working for a month he had carried only half of it home. One ear filled his cart. One day he left his mules in the field to graze. They ate a hole in the squash and went inside to continue eating. The man came and hunted all day to find them. When he found them they were still eating inside the squash. He drove them out with a whip. Later, on the same ground, he planted onions. They grew so big he had to cut them in half to get them in his cart. There were 12 *arrobas* in one onion.

COYOTE AND THE BULL

Coyote traveled hungry one day when he saw a bull with his testicles hanging down, as it was in June when the testicles begin to grow. He thought they looked ripe and he followed after the bull to see if they wouldn't drop off so he might have something to eat. He followed 2 or 3 months waiting for them to fall. He followed, followed, followed, 1 month, 2 months, until 6 months passed, and still they did not fall. Finally he got tired. "These things do not know when to fall," he said. Dying of hunger, he gave up.

THE IGUANA AND THE COYOTE

One afternoon, when spring was at its richest, an iguana came out of its house to be among the green branches, as is their custom and as the green herbage is their food. When the iguana wished [to do this] he suddenly saw a coyote who was spying on him to catch and eat him; but as the iguana had account of the coyote, he jumped and entered his house. Then said the coyote when the iguana had escaped him, "Why, the sickly thing thought I was going to eat him," said the coyote. There in the house the iguana heard the coyote say, "The sickly thing thought I was going to eat him," and the iguana said, "And if you catch me, perhaps I would not escape," he said. "Good, what are we going to do?" said the coyote. "I don't know," he said. "So long, Iguana."

THE STORY OF TURTLE AND COYOTE

Once Coyote was hungry and thought he would go to a lake where there were many turtles to see if perchance there was a turtle sunning himself on the bank of the lake. On arrival he immediately encountered a turtle out of the water, and Coyote was overcome with pleasure (*se murió de gusto*), and said thus: "How goes it, Brother Turtle? What are you doing there?"

"Nothing." "What is there new?" asked the Coyote. Then the Turtle said, "I know." Said the Coyote, "Tell me then." "The news that I know is that an armed company is traveling about killing everyone they find on the way."

Then Coyote said, "Another they may kill but not me, because I will hide myself immediately." He went running through the thick woods and hid himself there, but kept always looking toward the road to see when the armed troop would pass which his friend Turtle had spoken of. A good time passed when Coyote said, "Who knows if my friend Turtle told me this in order to escape from me so that I would not eat him? I am going to see."

He went, approaching little by little toward where Turtle was, when suddenly came forth a small group of cowboys. They saw Coyote and all cried, "Seize him!" and they gained on him [*le van entrando*]. When Coyote was in the power of the cowboys, he said, "Well, you told me, friend Turtle, but I believed that this was some bad trick," and he asked permission of his executioners to make one cry. In the cry he said thus: "He who will not take counsels will not become old."

Coyote died in the gallows [*murió horcado*] because he had not listened to the counsels of his friend Turtle.

COYOTE AND THE BEES

A comb of rich honey hung at a height of a yard, more or less. Coyote arrived at the foot of the tree, looked upward and saw the comb. Said Coyote, "Now I will eat honey in abundance, for the comb is quite large, and once I am full, I will call my friends and brothers," not knowing that in the woods he was being watched. His method of killing the bees was in this way: If the ground was hard, he made a wallow with his nails; one might better say he scratched the earth with his claws. Ceasing when the earth was scratched up, he proceeded in this way. As the comb was low, he seized it, and as he struck it the first blow, the bees became angry. At the second blow, they flew into his hair, and each time he struck a blow, they flew into his hair in such manner that they did not reach the skin, and Coyote rolled in the wallow and crushed them. Thus giving blows, he killed them until there remained not a single one in the comb.

Then Coyote began to eat, but this day Coyote traveled with bad luck. He had the fortune that a tanner [?] passed by and saw what Coyote had. He thought thus, "Now that he has killed them all, I will go and take it from him." When Coyote wished to take the first bite, the tanner said to him, "Leave it alone. It does not belong to you." Coyote went away.

No one knows for whom he works, and he who gained the comb was the tanner, with great ease and without having to bother himself with the bees. Coyote went down a small slope and it seems one bee remained on his tail and little by little it crawled down until it reached the anus, where it stung him. Said Coyote, "One is despised to be seen working for another. There is no doubt," said Coyote, "that when the ill is in the liver there is no remedy until death." [The Spanish in which this story was told was too poor to permit of exact translation, but most of the important parts were clear enough. It is not clear who was watching Coyote, but this seems to be an aside to indicate how the teller knew how Coyote secured the honey.]

THE SNAKE AND THE VIPER

Traveling one day in the spring, the snake encountered a viper. The snake thought to make an observation to the viper to see if he would not be angered, as he [the viper] was always very angry, said the snake to himself. Finally, the snake took courage to begin a conversation, and the snake began speaking. The viper was in a humor to chat. "What are you doing here, Sister Viper?" "Nothing, Sister Snake. You already know that in my long life he who passes first, I remember, and he who passes a second time, this angers me, and he who passes for the third time, this one I bite. What do you think of it, Sister Snake?" The viper continued with her tale, chatting with her friend, the snake. "And your life, what is it? I don't know anything of your life." "Why my life is thus," said the snake, "When I seize someone [it is] to prevent them from killing me. When I have my children, I care for them and if anyone approaches them I prepare myself. When they are close, I make a whistling and a coil from which I raise my head [passage obscure] and give them a blow [with it] until they go. In this way I prevent them from doing injury to my children." "You are a famous one," said the viper. The snake did not notice that the viper was softening [that is, being polite] in order to possess herself of the snake and eat her. Thus they were, when two birds [road runners—*churellas?*] arrived. One possessed itself of the viper, the other of the snake.

THE MARRIAGE OF INDIAN AND WHITE

This one was a white man and that one an Indian girl, where as much the white man as the Indian were enamored, both much in love. There was a very beautiful Indian girl, so beautiful that she did not even appear Indian (sic!). The white man went with a commission to buy wool cattle, or to say better, sheep, and by chance arrived at the house where he encountered the Indian girl, very attractive. Upon seeing this so pretty girl, the man was surprised, believing she was a woman of reason [*gente de razón*, that is white]. Upon seeing her, he spoke to her in Spanish and the girl answered him in Indian. Said the man [to himself], "How strange to encounter such a woman among an indigenous race," and thought to have a conversation with her, and the girl felt somewhat enamored of that man. Neither of them removed his gaze from the other. That which thought the white, thought also the Indian girl. Both felt as though they were in love. The Indian girl half understood Spanish and the white man half knew the Indian language.

Finally, the father of the girl became jealous and wished to draw her away, but it was impossible as she was as though overcome with the fondness that man had caused in her. Then the father said to the mother to take her away from before that man. Then the mother caught her arm and wished to take her away, but it was impossible. Already that pair had sealed their love in two hours of conversation. They understood each other so well that it seemed as though they had been sweethearts some time.

Then the father said to the kobanáro, who is the *presidente* of the Indians, he said this: "*Señor presidente*, recently a white man arrived saying that he came commissioned to buy sheep, but I have observed that it is not such a commission, but the commission he has is to rob me of my daughter and marry her. This does not seem well to me," said the father of the girl, "for he is white and only wishes to ridicule us Indians." "Good, bring him here," said the *presidente* with angry accents and disgust. Now the *presidente* felt in very bad humor because of the news brought by one of his neighbors, and said, "Bring me this white," said the *presidente*, "for it is bad that he should dare fall in love with a girl of our village," said the *presidente*.

In short, they found three married men to bring that white man. Then, on seizing him, angrily the girl said to those of her race, "Be a little better in treating white people," said the girl, very filled with fury and anger. Then the girl seized him and said to them, "Loose him, I am responsible for him." Said the girl, "Let us go, white man, where the *presidente* is. Do not be afraid, do not worry for I can defend you. Even those of my race are bad; when I speak they will remain sleeping, if you only love me." This said the girl to the white man. This said she to the white man, "Do you believe in this moment I would feel I had lost my head if you should love me much?" said the girl. "With all my heart," said the man.

On arriving where the *presidente* was, the *presidente* already had prepared the mesquite switches to whip that white man, and as soon as the chief was able to see where they came together, he said to the father, "Already he has stolen her." Said the father to the *presidente*, "And those who went for him did not meet her." Then said the girl to the man, "Notice the way in which nothing will happen to you; go to my father asking his pardon and nothing will happen and we will marry at once."

All the village was very angry at that man. Perhaps, had it not been for the girl, they would have killed him without salvation. On arriving where the father and the *presidente* were, he fell at the feet of the Indian and begged pardon. Perhaps God had designed it thus, and only on hearing that he mentioned God, the Indian considered and said to the *presidente*, "What will we do in this case?" "Whatever you say," said the *presidente*. Then the girl said to her father, "If we do not pass by this even, hang us both."

Then came forth an Indian of some 80 years, very bent, saying thus, and directing himself to the father of the girl. "You have seen very little. You have good reason, for you have never been away from here. I, at the age of 18, went to a town of whites and I married with a white woman, and to prove that it is true, now you will see."

Then he ran to his house and brought his wife to talk with that white man. The Indians waited during this interval. Came the wife of that Indian, and after she arrived the *presidente* said, "Speak with this white man," to see if it were true. Then the Indians loosed their laughter, saying, "Also the whites love the Indians," said all. Then said the kobanáro, who is the *presidente*, "Attention all, from today forward I will not treat a white man badly because remember that among us lives a white woman with an Indian. I want to say that the yoris [white people] like us." And the father of the girl, as he was rich, sent for a carriage with two horses, which they used in those times, and conducted them to his house, and the next day the caravan went to a town nearby, where they encountered a curate and they were married without delay. Afterward the son-in-law was much loved by that rich Indian.

YOMOMÚLI [50]

Before, there was a tribe from whom the Yaqui are descended. They knew nothing of God, but among them was a great pole, three spans in diameter, with one end in earth, the other in heaven. It vibrated as though talking. At the time all spoke one language, but only Queen Yomomúli could understand the pole. She interpreted that it spoke of a God who made the earth for human beings to live upon. The pole said that the time of the Conquest would come and all would have to be baptized. Many people were angry; only a few said they would receive the benediction. The others said it was not true, that only Yomomúli wished it. So Yomomúli burned down the stick with a powerful cigarette, rolled up the river under her arm like a carpet, and went away. Those who had not wanted to receive benediction sank into the earth.

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[50] This curious tale was given me as an example of what the Susuákame talked of in their night sessions. Edward Spicer has collected several longer variants of this tale.

TURTLE SPEAKS YAQUI

Coyote speaks Yaqui correctly, Turtle does not. One time as a Yaqui sometimes wanders the woods hungry looking for food, so Coyote wandered. He saw Turtle below a prickly pear [*nopal*] which was dropping its fruit. Coyote saw Turtle's mouth was red and thought Turtle would give him meat. He ran toward him, and said, "Hítisa émpo bwáka síkili ikténa mócik? (What hast thou eaten that thy mouth is red, Turtle?)"

Turtle replied, "Yorémta híwa íani íntok énci híwa. (I have eaten a Christian just now as I will thee.)"

Coyote was frightened and ran off. But this was not correct Yaqui. It should have been said, "Yoémtani bwáka ianintóko encíne bwána." Thus those who deny their own language or do not speak it correctly are called turtles.[51]

SAINT PETER AND THE GIANT

In the time of Jesus and the Apostles there were struggles with giants. One day Saint Peter encountered a giant who challenged him to a trial of strength by seeing who could sink his fist farthest into a tree. Peter agreed but said, "Not today."

"You name the time, then," said the giant. "Well, tomorrow morning," said Peter.

Peter then went to Jesus, and said, "I accepted this challenge in expectation that you would help me. What is to be done about it?"

Jesus said, "It is well. Go and make a hole through the tree without anyone knowing." Peter did this, and Jesus made the tree look as if it were untouched. The next morning they made the trial and Peter stuck his fist clear through the tree.

The giant was astonished but not convinced. "You are strong," he said. "But yonder on the other side of the ocean is an island. Can you throw a stone there?"

"Certainly," replied Peter, "but tomorrow." Peter then went to Jesus again, and said, "I accepted this challenge in expectation that you would help me. What is to be done about it?"

Jesus said, "It is well. But instead of a stone, use a quail."

The next morning both came, the giant with a stone and Peter with a quail. The giant threw his stone to the Island. Peter then threw his quail and it flew to the Island. But by a miracle of Jesus it looked like a stone to the giant. So the giant was convinced of Peter's strength.

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[51] This story was at first told to illustrate how one could say things a little wrong in Yaqui. Aside from mispronounciations, "bwáka" should have been used instead of "híwa." The informant concluded with the unexpected statement that the story illustrates the lack of confidence between Yaquis and Mexicans, presumably because the latter do not speak quite properly.

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GLOSSARY[52]

(S, Spanish; C, Cáhita; Y, Yaqui; M, Mayo)

Alférez (S), standard bearer; one of the civil officials; a member of a subgroup of the fiesteros.

Alpéz (C), native corruption of the preceding.

Angelito (S), any young child below the age for confirmation; a group of children participating in the Easter ceremonies; a child dancer with the matachini.

Arroyo (S), an abrupt-sided water course, usually flowing only during and immediately after rains.

Atole (S), gruel of ground parched corn and water.

Bakaváki (C), a ceremonial food dish of boiled beef, whole corn, and herbs.

Bezoar, a calcareous concretion found in the intestines of certain ruminants such as deer and iguana, used as a hunting charm.

Caballería (S), cavalry; the junior division of the men's military society.

Caballería del Pilato (S), cavalry of Pilate: an organization of men associated with Pilate and his group for the Easter ceremonies; membership is for 3 years only.

Cahuetes (S), local pronunciation of *cohetes*, small explosive skyrockets.

Castillos (S), elaborate fireworks set pieces used with major fiestas.

Calvario (S), calvary; a spot on the route of Lenten processions usually marked by three crosses.

Chicaton (S), a whip bearer who keeps order, particularly in connection with the matachini.

Cholla (S), a variety of very thorny cactus.

Coa (S), any small bladed agricultural implement resembling a hoe, but with the blade set in the same plane as the handle.

Cobija (S), a blanket, distinguished from a *serape* by plainness of color and simplicity of design.

Comadre (S), a reciprocal term used between a person and the godmother of his child.

Comal (S), a flattish round plate of clay or iron used to cook tortillas; if of clay, it is lenticular in cross sections.

Compadre (S), a reciprocal term used between a person and the godfather of his child.

Cruz mayor (S), large cross erected in front of the church.

Cuartel (C), headquarters of the military society.

Curandero (S), a person who cures the sick.

Echos (S), a species of organ cactus.

Fariseo (S), a masked clown; in plural form may refer to the society.

Fiesta (S), any form of religious ceremonial involving dancing.

Fiesta de promesa (S), a fiesta given by a private individual or group of individuals as the result of a vow.

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[52] Terms appearing only once or twice in the text with accompanying definitions are not included.

Fiesteros (S), a group of persons, 12 of each sex, who are responsible for the giving of a major regular fiesta.

Fiscal (S), a church official who formerly looked after church property and collected tithes.

Garbanzos (S), chick peas.

Guamuchil (S), a large tree of the *Acacia* producing a fruit similar to the mesquite.

Guardia (S), see *cuartel.*

Hacendado (S), owner or operator of a *hacienda.*

Hacienda (S), a large agricultural estate or cattle ranch.

Híto (C), a small tree of ceremonial importance.

Hitoléso, hitoléro (C), a type of *curandero,* or curer.

Iguana (S), a large edible lizard.

Infantería (S), the senior division of the men's military society.

Jabalí (S), the peccary; a small and savage piglike animal.

Jacal (S), any poorly constructed dwelling of perishable materials with flat roof.

Jaguar, the American tiger; the largest and most dangerous animal in Cáhita territory.

Jarabe (S), a Mexican folk dance.

Jito (S), Spanish form of **Hīto.**

Kobanáro (M), the head of the Mayo church organization; cf. Yaqui **teopokobana'u.**

Kobaná'u (Y), the head of the Yaqui civil officials; or, any member of the group of six active civil officials.

Kopária (pl. **kopárium**) (Y), the female singers who assist a maestro.

Koyóles (C), belt with suspended copper bells worn by pascola dancers.

Machete (S), a heavy all-purpose brush knife about 20 inches long with a hooked blade; for ceremonial use by the clowns, it is made of wood.

Madrino (S), Godmother.

Maestro (S), leader of church services, one who can recite prayers and chants of the Catholic ritual.

Maguey (S), the agave, or century, plant, usually the *Agave americana.*

Makúco (C), a small-leaved native-grown tobacco.

Malinche (S), a matachin dancer dressed as a girl who dances behind the leader, or *monarca.*

Manzanillo (S), one of the fennels, used in curing and ceremonial.

Matachin (S), a dance, probably of Spanish derivation, with a paper crown, gourd rattle, and a feather wand. The performers form a society. May also refer to a single dancer.

Matachini (S), the matachin dancers.

Mayordomo (S), the head of any group, but applied particularly to the head of the Yaqui clown society.

Mayor (pl. **mayores**) (S), the head or principal one of a group.

Mescal (S), a distilled liquor made from fermented pulp of the *maguey;* it does not refer to peyote. (The use of the term "mescal" to refer to peyote is a purely North American usage.)

Mesquite (S), an acacia-like tree or shrub bearing long beanlike edible pods.

Milpa (S), a field cleared out of the woods, usually mainly by burning. Technically, the term applies only to fields which are used temporarily, but in some parts of Mexico it may apply to any cultivated small field.

Monarca (S), the leader of the matachin dancers.

Moro (S), (1) one of the society groups associated with the fiesta of San Juan Bautista on June 24; (2) a servant, particularly applied to certain of the fiesteros and to the assistants of dancers and musicians who look after their paraphernalia.

Novena (S), a secondary ceremony properly occurring on the 8th day after the main event, but among the Cáhita sometimes applied to secondary ceremonies occurring at other intervals.

Ocelot (S), a small spotted animal of the cat family.

Olla (S), a large open-mouthed pottery jar.

Padrino (S), godfather.

Panoche (S), a cake of crystalized brown sugar.

Partera (S), a midwife.

Pascola (C), a type of dancer who appears at all ceremonies; also used for more than one dancer and for the dance itself.

Pilato (S), impersonator of Pilate in the Easter ceremonies; also among the Yaqui head of a society group of which the clowns, or fariseos, form a subsociety.

Pinole (S), flour of parched corn.

Pisca (C), corruption of fiscal.

Pitahaya (S), an organ cactus with highly prized fruit.

Principales (S), term sometimes used for the pueblos.

Pueblo (S), a town.

Pueblos (S), may refer to towns, but among the Yaqui usually refers to group of six men who in the previous years have been kobana'us, or civil officials, and who serve a second year as advisors to the new officials.

Quince (S), a game widespread in northern Mexico and the Southwest in various forms; usually played with stick dice and with counters moved along a board. The latter feature is lacking among the Cáhita.

Ramada (S), a shade, usually brush-roofed, but occasionally with a clay roof.

Ranchería (S), a subvillage; a small cluster of houses.

Ranchero (S), a Mexican small farmer or cattle raiser.

Rancho (S), a farm settlement, usually not as large as a *ranchería*. It may consist of a single household.

Sargento (S), sergeant; a rank in the military society and the Pilato society of the Yaqui; also applied to subordinates in the various groupings; among the Mayo usually refers to the first assistant kobanáro, or church head, sometimes also called the judge.

Sargento (S), a native woven blanket or rug with elaborate design and color. A Cáhita *serape* always has a diamond-shaped center design, or boca manga.

Siesta (S), a midday entertainment of a Saint at a private house.

Sonazo (S), the flat metal disk rattle of the pascola dancer.

Susuákame (Y), the wise ones, or those who know; an extinct (?) governing group of the Yaqui.

Tamales (S), maize dough, sometimes with meat, wrapped in maize husks and steamed.

Temásti (pl. temastiánes) (Y), sacristans.

Tenánce (Y), female assistants in the church.

Tenedor (S), a male assistant to a midwife.

Tenóvares (C), cocoon rattles worn on the legs of pascola and deer dancers and clowns.

Teópokabaná'u (Y), official in charge of the Yaqui church and supervisor of ceremonials.

Tortilla (S), a flat thin pancake of maize dough cooked without grease on a comal.

Tuna (S), the fruit of the prickly pear; also commonly used to refer to the plant itself, although properly this should be called nopal.

Vara (S), a rod or cane of office.

Vaquero (S), a cowboy.

Velación (S), any minor ceremony or commemoration at which candles are burned).

Velar (S), to burn candles in connection with any minor ceremony or commemoration or to take part in such an event.

Via crucis (S), the stations of the cross; among the Cáhita, a set of crosses put up outdoors.

Yoréme (C), the Cáhita name for themselves.

Yóri (C), Cáhita term for a white.

Zapatía (S), a Mexican folk dance.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

Plate 1

Figure 1.—Yaqui River, showing typical vegetation along lower reaches. At right is a cultivated sand bank dependent on flooding for irrigation.

Figure 2.—A recently cleared Mayo field showing useful trees and pitahayas left standing.

Plate 2

Figure 1.—*Echos* fence near Masiaca between the Fuerte and Mayo Rivers. Sections of the cactus are set palisade-fashion in the ground, where they quickly take root.

Figure 2.—Corner of an adobe house north of the Mayo River northeast of Navojoa with a corn-storage structure in the background.

Plate 3

Figure 1.—Adobe house and adjoining kitchen structure. Corn is piled on the roof. The wall of the kitchen structure is crude vertical thatch. In the foreground are bundles of green canes for weaving mats and baskets.

Figure 2.—Mayo wattle and daub structure. The ramada wall on the right is of wattle without mud plaster, but otherwise does not differ from the house wall. Notice the notched log ladder for mounting to the roof and the mats fastened to the ramada wall.

Plate 4

Figure 1.—Mayo ramada, walled with vertical thatch. Indigo is drying on the table in the foreground.

Figure 2.—A typical extensive ramada and portion of adobe house.

Plate 5

Figure 1.—A Mayo cooking structure showing characteristically haphazard construction, although unusual in the application of some mud plaster.

Figure 2.—One of two thatched houses seen on the Mayo River. Such roofs are common on the Fuerte. Notice the olla in the crotch of the upright post, a typical household feature.

PLATE 6

Figure 1.—Cross before a Mayo house. Large crosses of this type are now rare, the more usual type being small. This cross was said to be between 75 and 100 years old.

Figure 2.—A Mayo father and children beside the ramada. Behind is a rawhide string bed set on edge to be out of the way during the day.

Figure 3.—Mayo bake oven. The brush is to discourage sheep from clambering over the structure.

PLATE 7

Figure 1.—Upper from left to right: Stick or club used to beat manure for pottery temper, point for pitahaya picking spear, spindle and thread, heavy spindle used to spin fine thread for fish nets (length 22½ inches), spindle with woolen thread, three sticks used in weaving belts for shed bars and heddle, batten used for belt weaving. Bottom: Switch used in preparing wool for spinning.

Figure 2.—Left to right: Mayo matachin dance wand (length 31 inches), stick used on notched rasp, pascola drum sticks, drumstick used with suspended gourd water drum for coyote dance, drumstick used with floating water drum for deer dance, notched rasp, 24½ inches long. Bottom: Short cane flute used for song accompaniments, 17 inches long. The pascola flute is longer. (Univ. Calif. Mus. Cat. 3, Nos. 3328, 3197, 3252, 3343, 3342, 3252C, 3252B, 3224, 3220, 3305, 3331, 3330, 3219C, 3307, 3304, 3259.)

PLATE 8

Figure 1.—Mayo man feeding *maguey* fiber into the thread as he backs away from the spinning device.

Figure 2.—A Mayo fariseo, or clown. In the background is typical ramada, string bed, and palm-leaf mats used for sleeping purposes.

PLATE 9

Figure 1.—Mayo woman weaving. (Photograph courtesy of Frances Toor.)

Figure 2.—Mayo woman using the bow to prepare wool for spinning.

PLATE 10

Figure 1.—Harp used to accompany pascola dancer. Height 52 inches. (Univ. Calif. Museum Cat. 3, No. 3430.

Figure 2.—A Mayo violin. (Univ. Calif. Mus. Cat. 3, No. 3264, A-B.)

PLATE 11

Figure 1.—Old man playing the harp.

Figure 2.—Two Mayo fariseos in an inquiring mood.

PLATE 12

Figure 1.—Implements from Ocoroni, said to be for a form of *quince*. The center and bottom pieces are a fire drill and hearth and are not connected with the game. (Photograph courtesy National Museum of Mexico, Nos. del Inventorio 73 and 79.)

Figure 2.—Headdress worn by Ocoroni dancers collected at Bamoa, Sinaloa, presumably a matachin crown. (Photograph courtesy National Museum of Mexico, No. del Inventorio 72.)

Figure 3.—Ocoroni rattles, engraved and painted. Probably used by matachini. Mayo and Yaqui dancers commonly use plain or red-painted rattles. (Photograph courtesy of the National Museum of Mexico, Nos. del Inventorio 91 and 92.)

PLATE 13

Masks and headdresses from the Mayo. Top right and left are pascola masks. Top center is a matachin crown. Bottom, center, is a *venado*, or deer dancer's headdress, with capaiyéka, or fariseo, mask on either side. (Univ. Calif. Mus. Cat. 3, Nos. 3325, 3168, 3320, 3308, 3205, 3204.)

PLATE 14

Figure 1.—Ramada, cane table, and tamps for pounding down earth in graves at Cohuirimpo.

Figure 2.—Carved crosses with birds in graveyard at Cohuirimpo.

PLATE 15

Deer dancer's belt with pendent deer hoofs at top with the pascola belt below. Length 48 and 33 inches respectively. The fox skin is a fiestero's tobacco pouch. Length 39 inches, tip of snout to tip of tail. Decorated with silk ribbons. (Univ. Calif. Mus. Cat. 3, Nos. 3309, 3270, 3269.)

PLATE 16

Figure 1.—Mayo pascola dancers.

Figure 2.—Yaqui pascola dancers with violinist and harpist. The masks would not be worn while dancing to this music. (Photographs courtesy of Frances Toor, editor of Mexican Folkways. The July 1937 number of this journal has some good action pictures.)

PLATE 17

Figure 1.—Mayo deer dancer.

Figure 2.—Yaqui deer dancer and musicians. (Photograph courtesy of Frances Toor.)

PLATE 18

Figure 1.—The fiesta ramada at Navojoa early in the afternoon as preparations for a fiesta are under way.

Figure 2.—The ramada during the fiesta, showing a portion of the crowd.

PLATE 19

Figure 1.—The banner of San Juan resting on a miniature chair, the fiestero drum, and the *sargento* staff. Mayo of Navojoa.

Figure 2.—A replica of the pottery bull used by the Mayo of Navojoa. (Univ. Calif. Mus. Cat. 3, No. 3361.)

PLATE 20

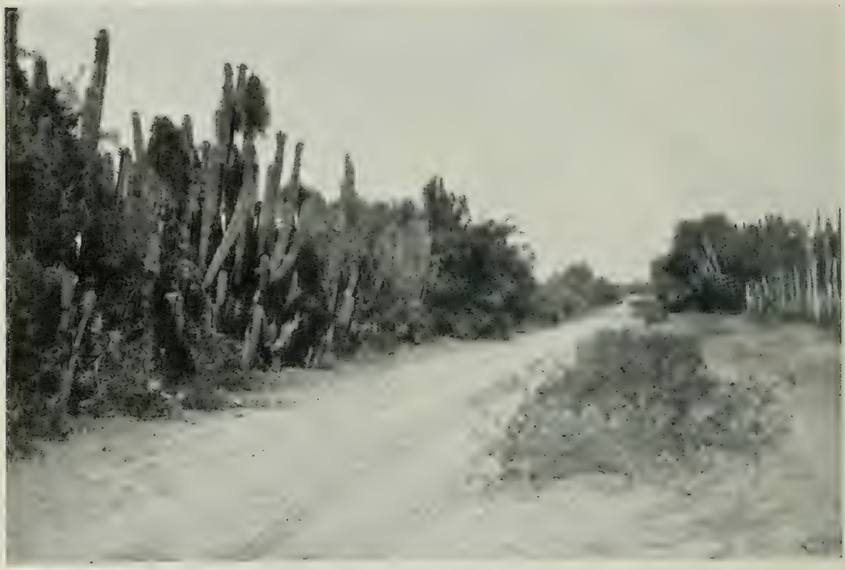
Figure 1.—The church at Navojoa.

Figure 2.—Cooking bakaváki for one of the large fiestas at Navojoa.

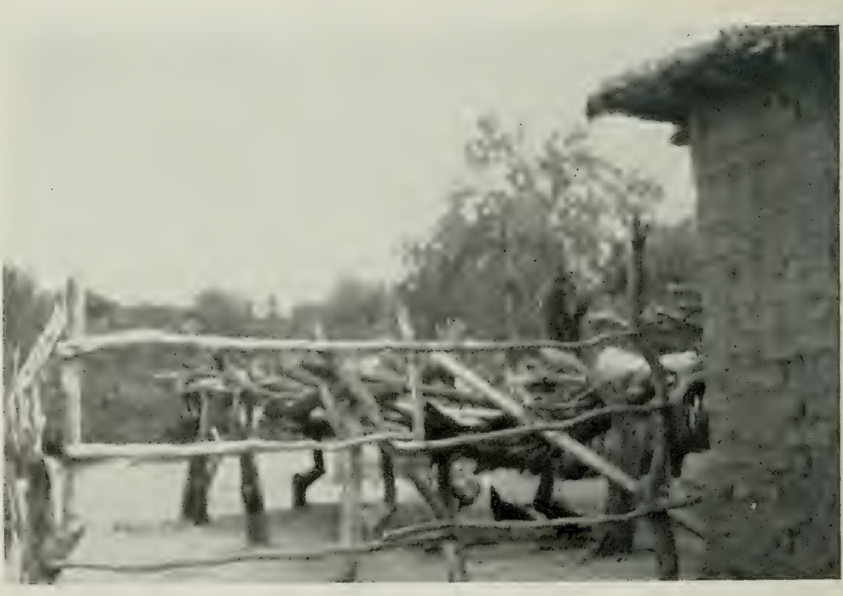
1. LOWER YAQUI RIVER.

2. A MAYO FIELD.

(For explanation, see page 230.)

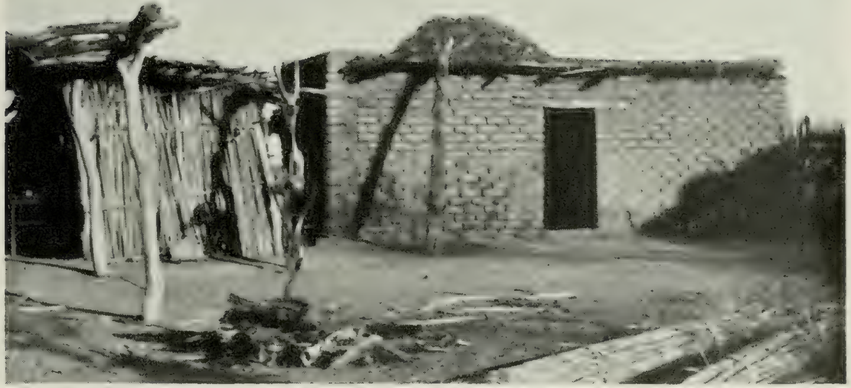


1. AN ECHOS CACTUS FENCE.

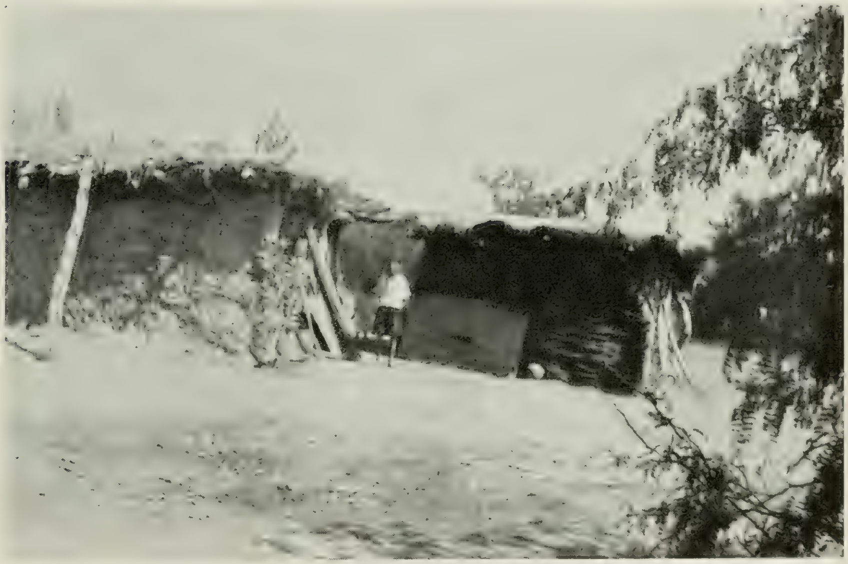


2. CORNER OF ADOBE HOUSE.

(For explanation, see page 230.)

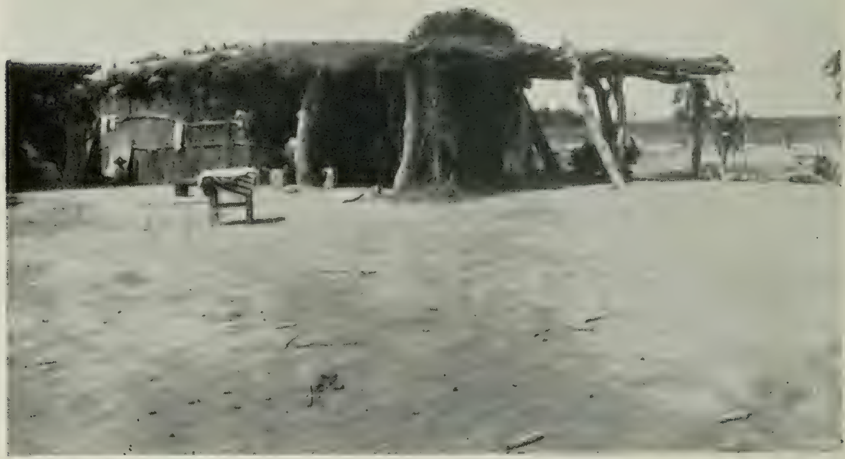


1. House and Kitchen.

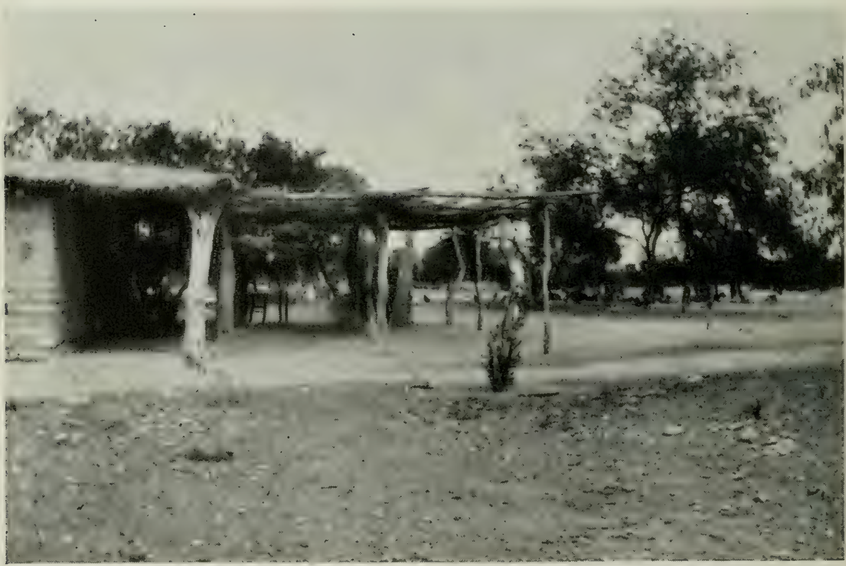


2. Mayo House and Ramada.

(For explanation, see page 230.)

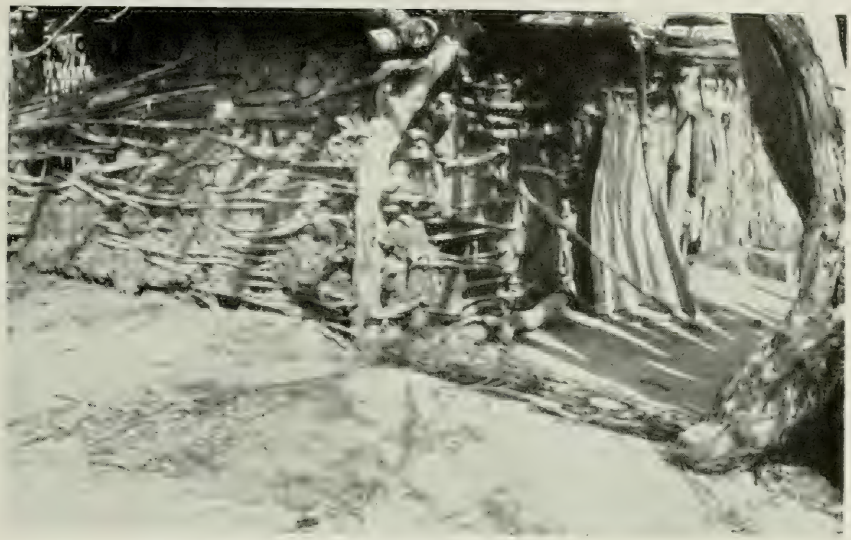


1. A Mayo Ramada.

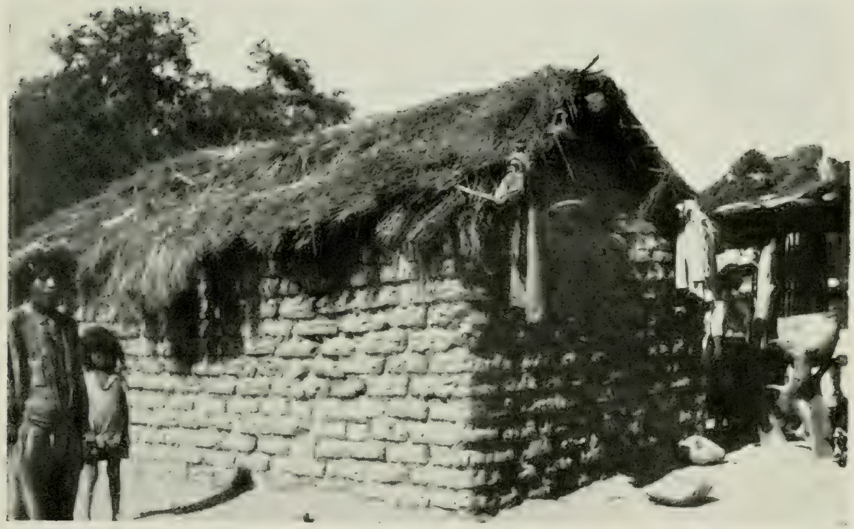


2. An Extensive Mayo Ramada.

(For explanation, see page 230.)

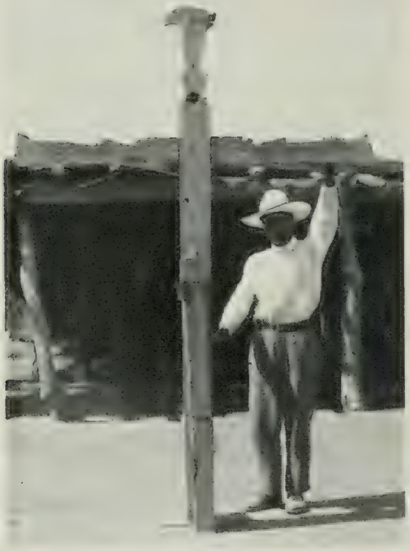


1. A MAYO KITCHEN.



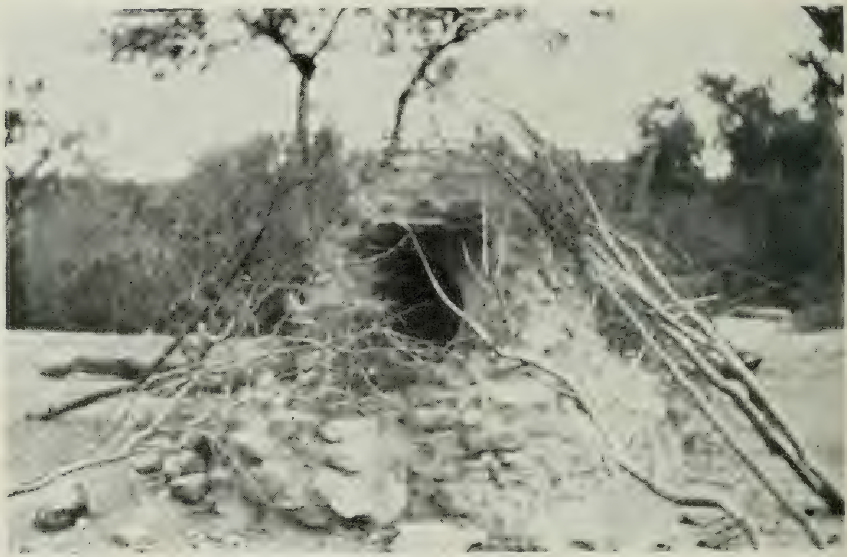
2. THATCH-ROOFED HOUSE.

(For explanation, see page 230.)



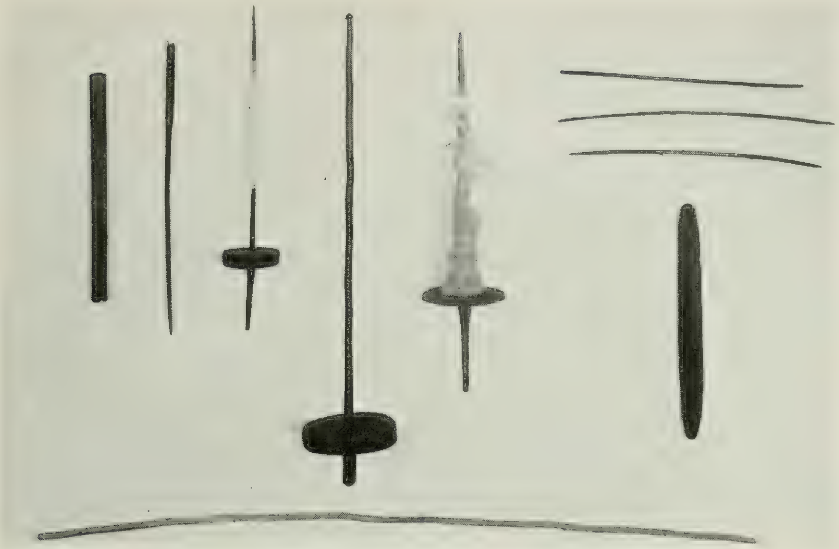
1. A MAYO HOUSE CROSS.

2. MAYO FATHER AND CHILDREN.

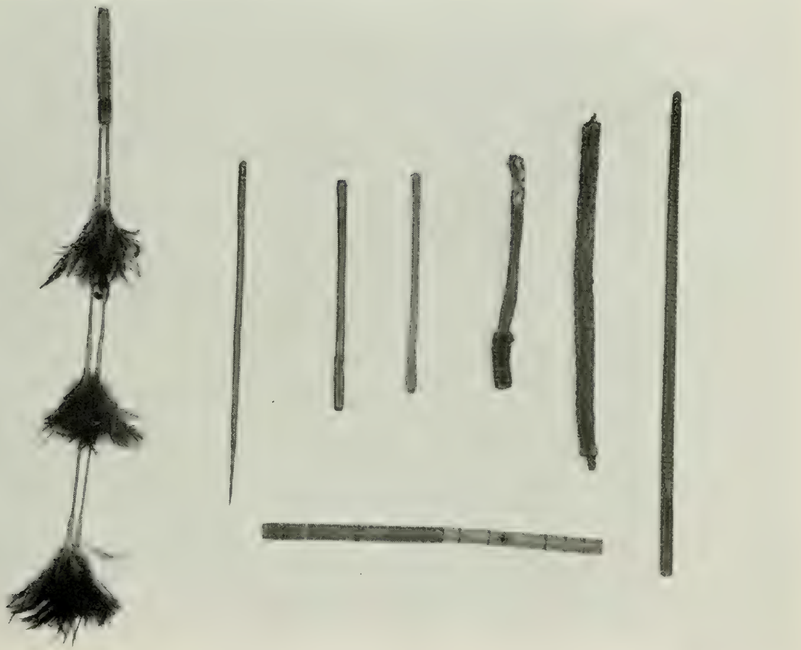


3. MAYO BAKE OVEN.

(For explanation, see page 231.)

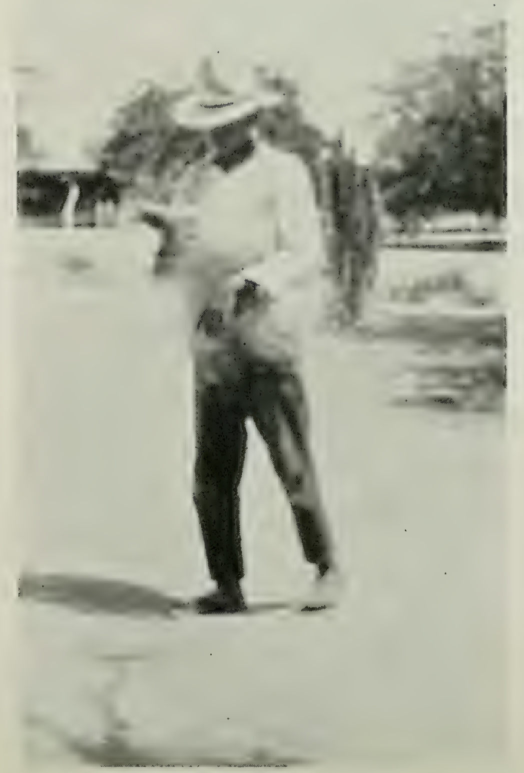


1. MAYO WOODEN IMPLEMENTS.

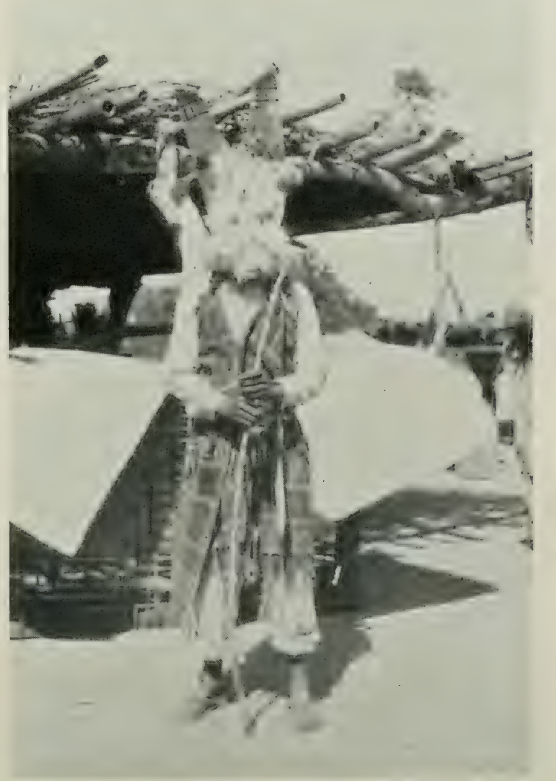


2. MAYO MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS AND DANCE WAND

(For explanation, see page 231.)

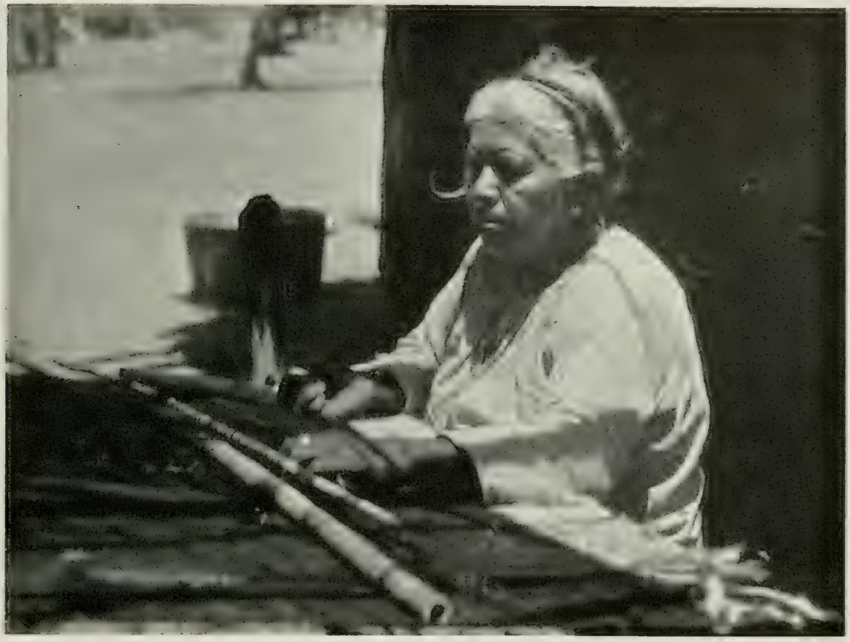


1. SPINNING MAGUEY FIBER.

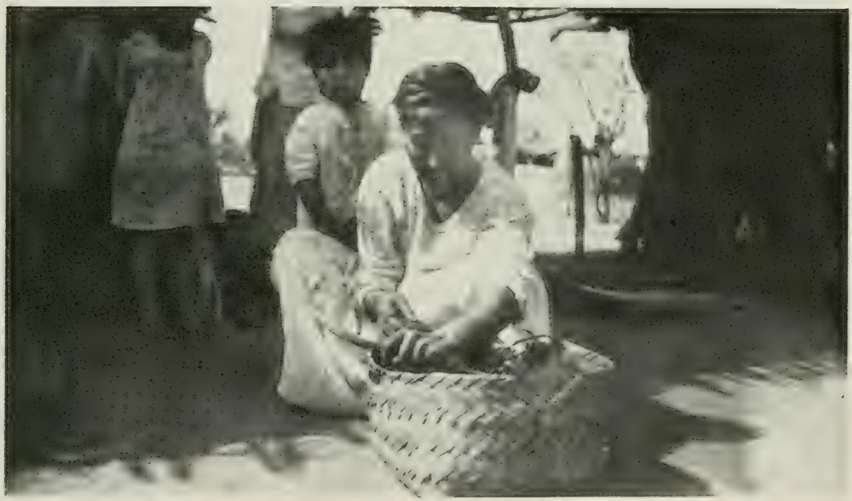


2. MAYO CLOWN.

(For explanation, see page 231.)

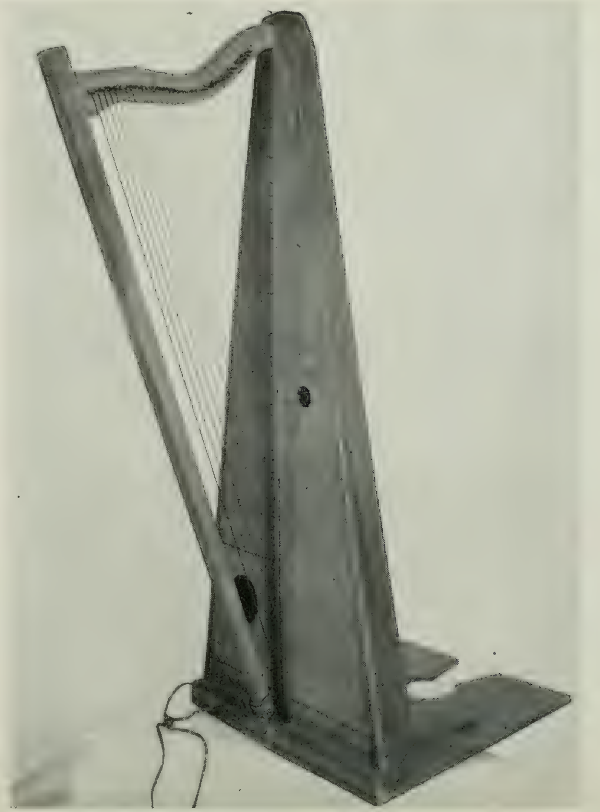


1. Mayo Woman Weaving.

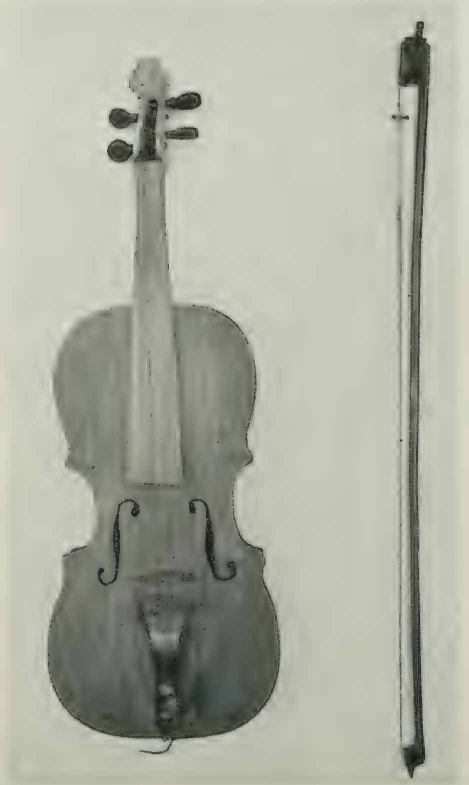


2. Mayo Woman Using the Bow to Prepare Wool for Spinning.

(For explanation, see page 231.)

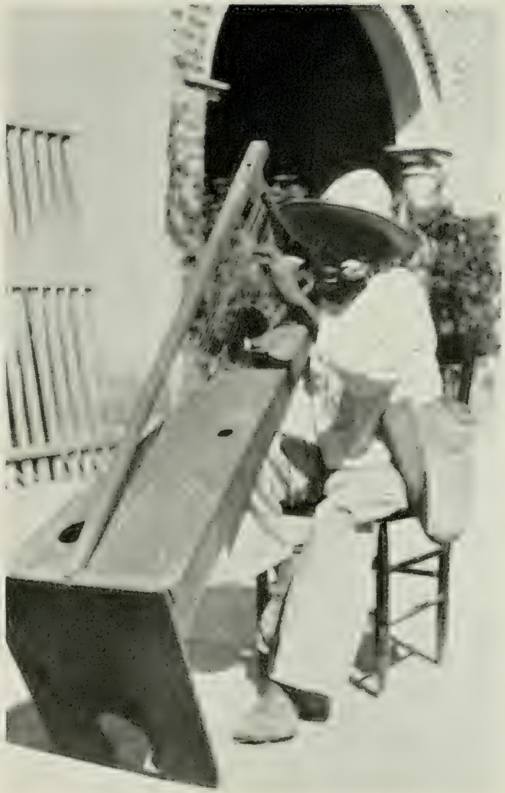


1. MAYO HARP.

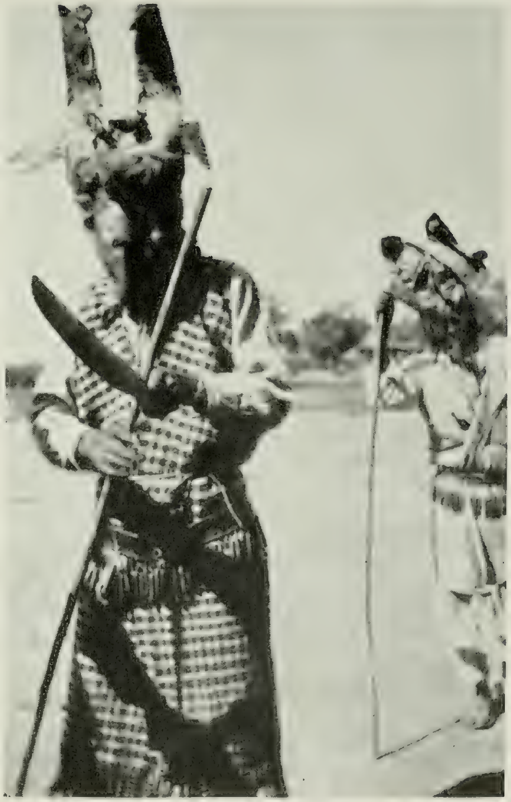


2. MAYO VIOLIN.

For explanation, see page 231.)

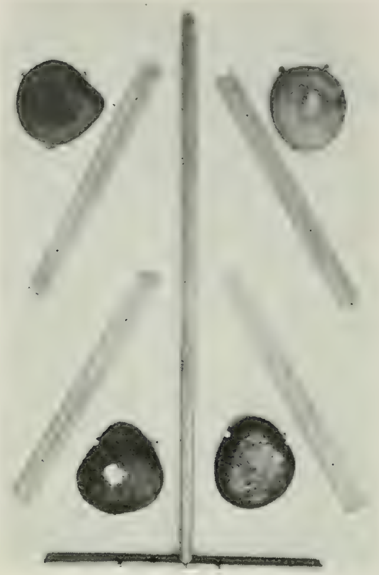


1. MAN PLAYING HARP.

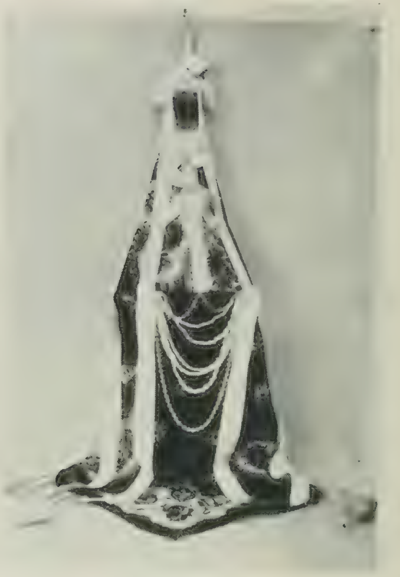


2. MAYO CLOWNS.

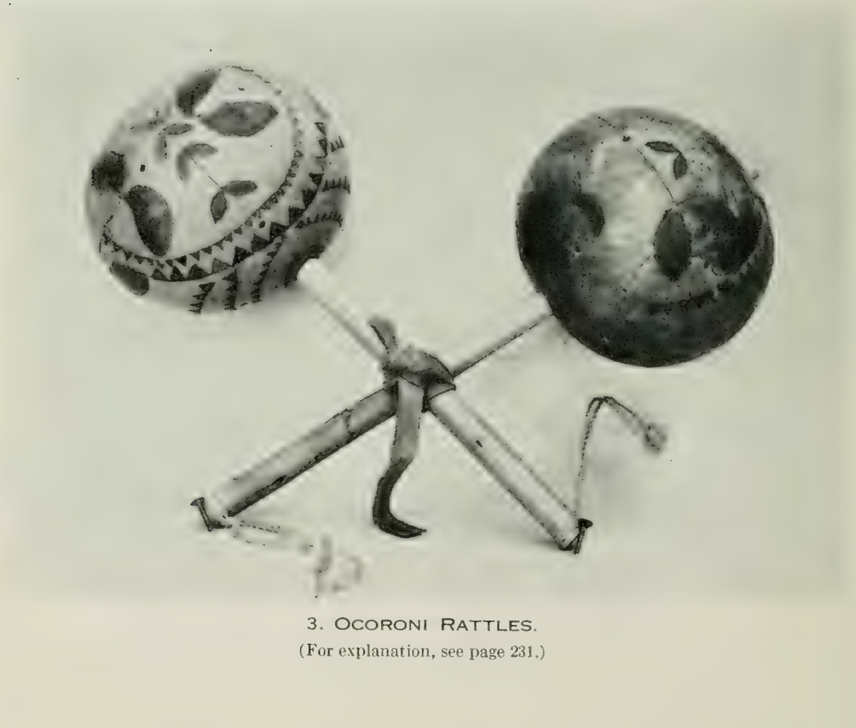
(For explanation, see page 231.)



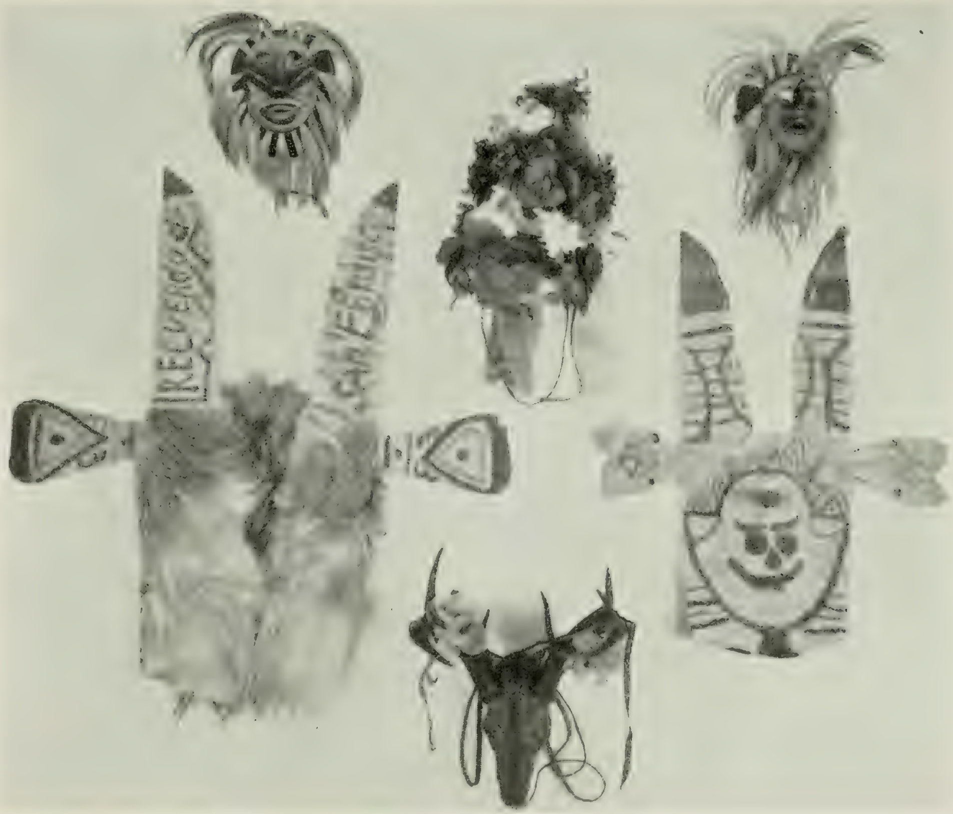
1. OCORONI STICK DICE.



2. OCORONI DANCE CROWN.

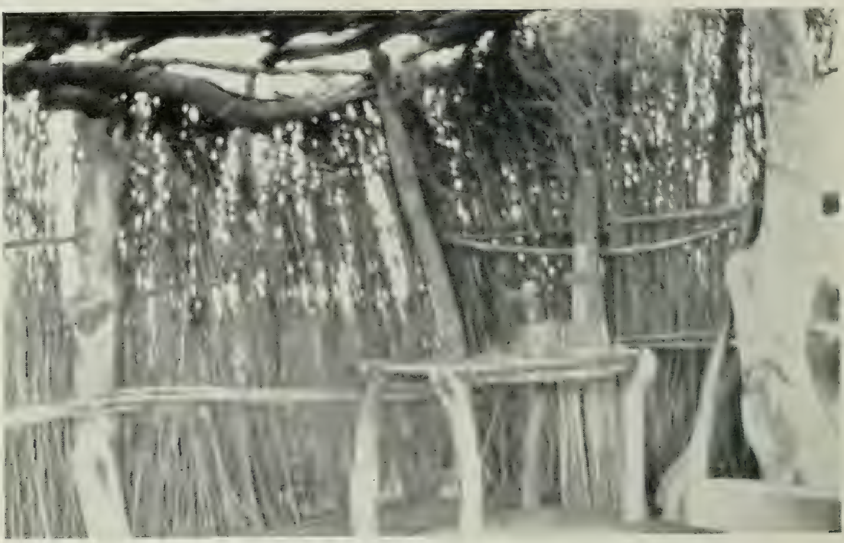


3. OCORONI RATTLES.
(For explanation, see page 231.)

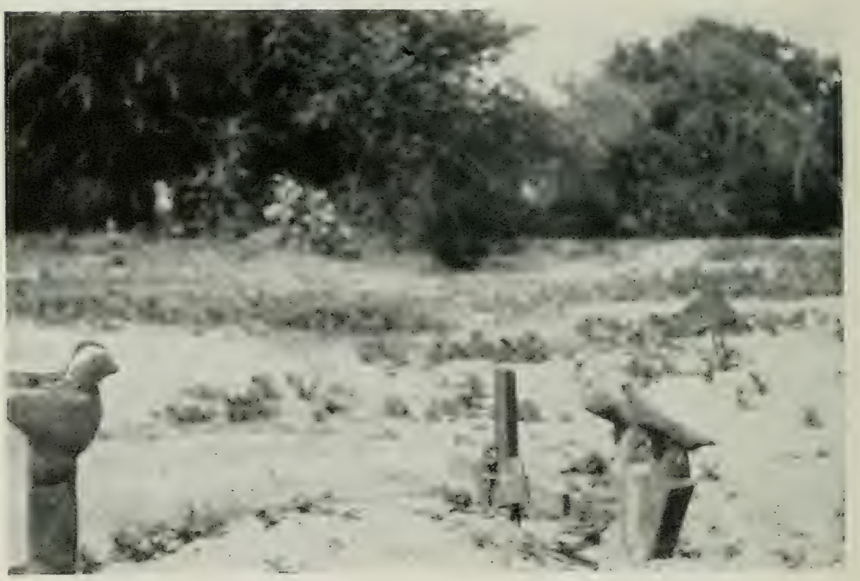


MAYO MASKS AND HEADDRESSES.

(For explanation, see page 232.)

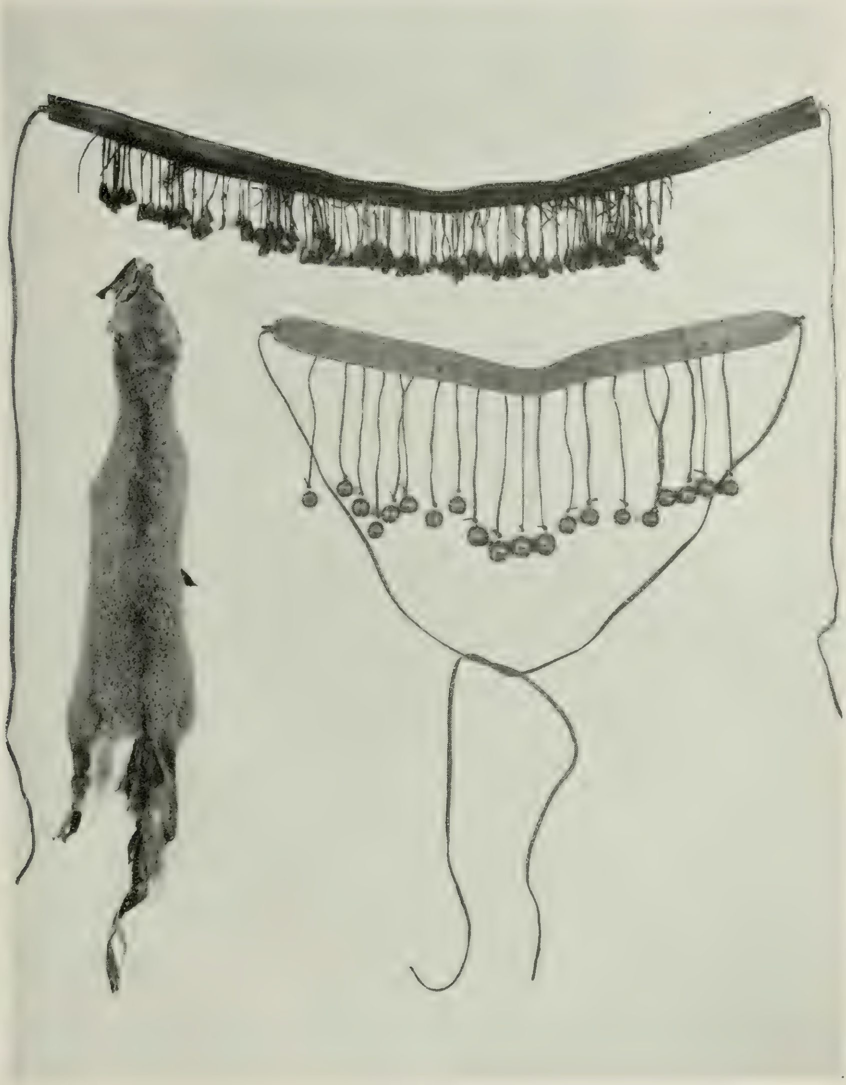


1. GRAVEYARD AT COHUIRIMPO.

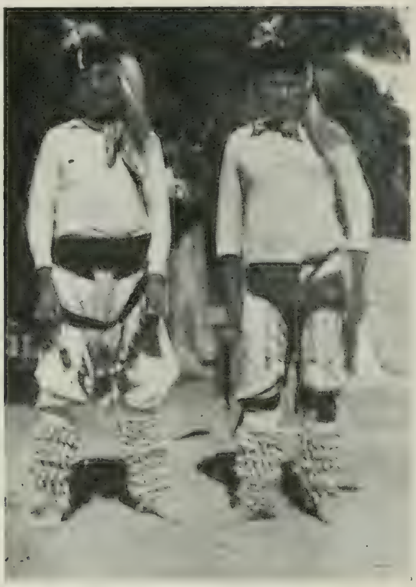


2. GRAVES AT COHUIRIMPO.

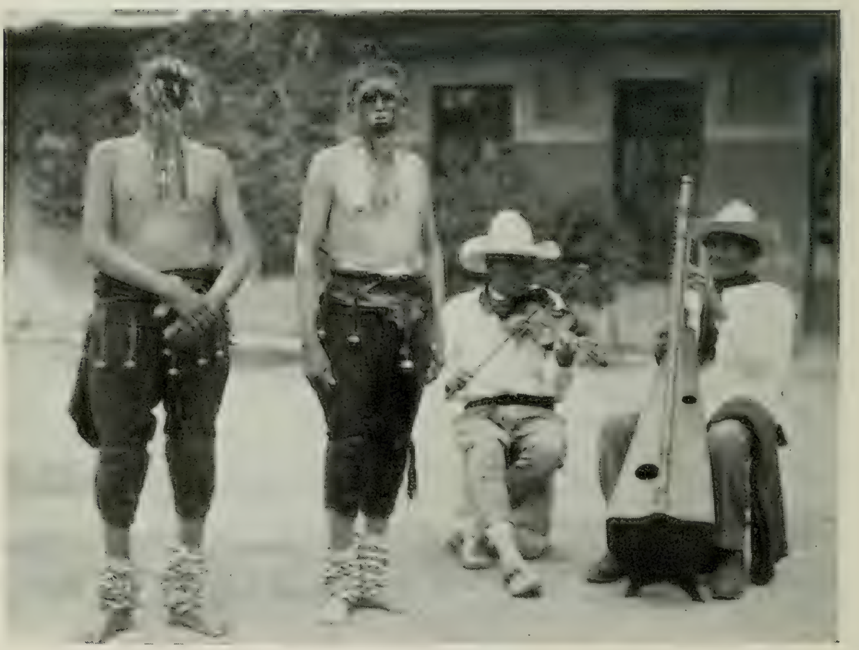
(For explanation, see page 232.)



CEREMONIAL REGALIA.
(For explanation, see page 232.)

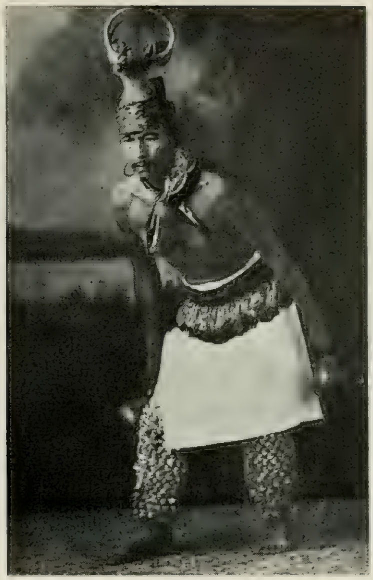


1. MAYO PASCOLA DANCERS.

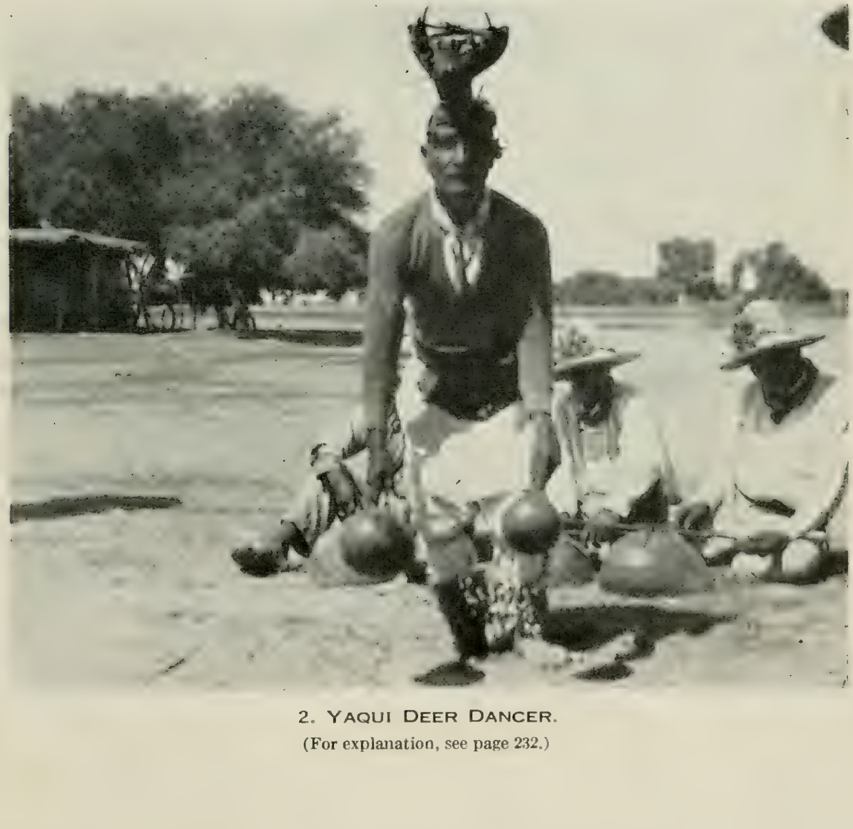


2. YAQUI PASCOLA DANCERS.

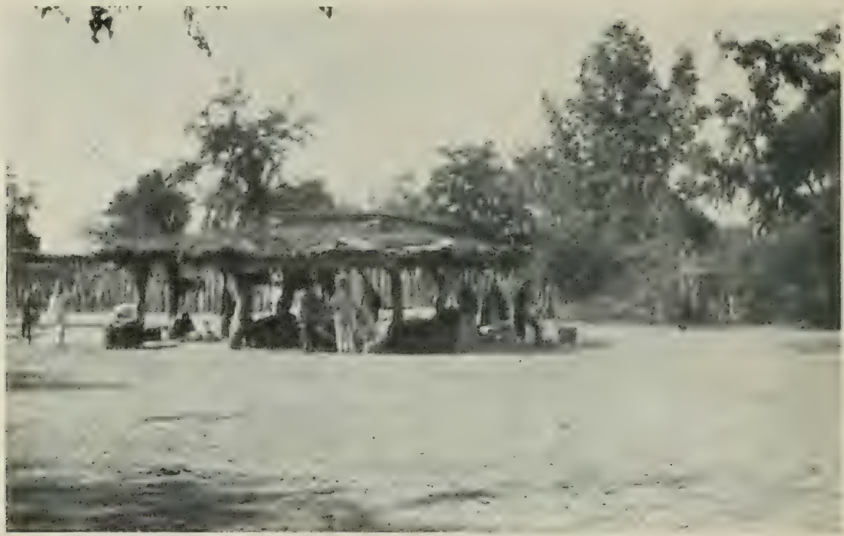
(For explanation, see page 232.)



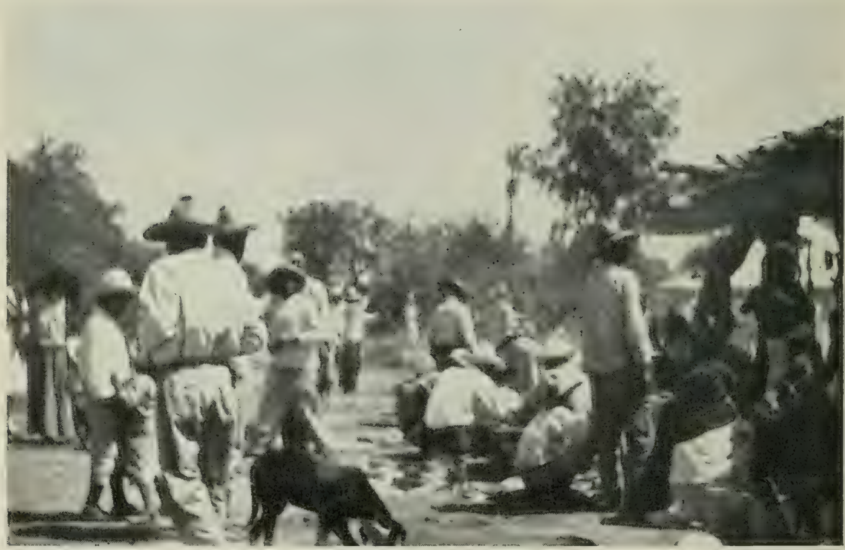
1. Mayo Deer Dancer.



2. Yaqui Deer Dancer.
(For explanation, see page 232.)

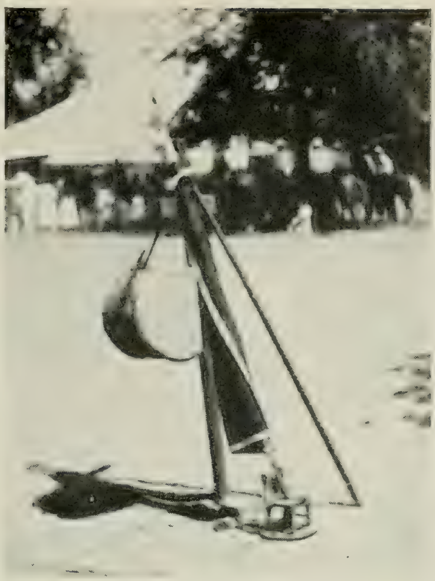


1. FIESTA RAMADA.

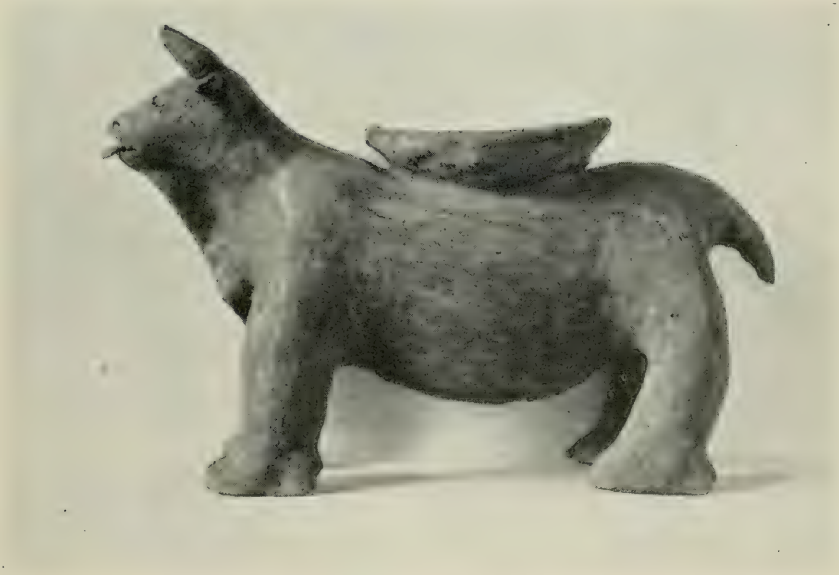


2. MAYO FIESTA.

(For explanation, see page 232.)

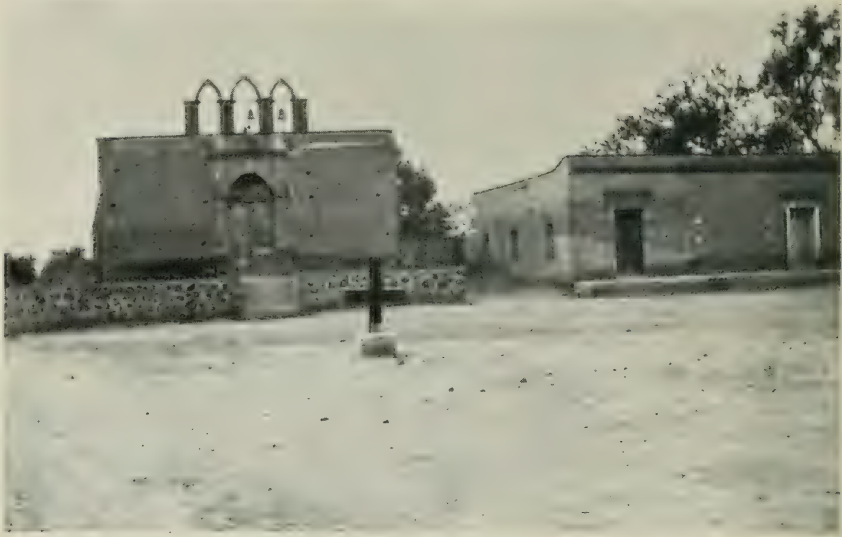


1. BANNERS AND CROSS.

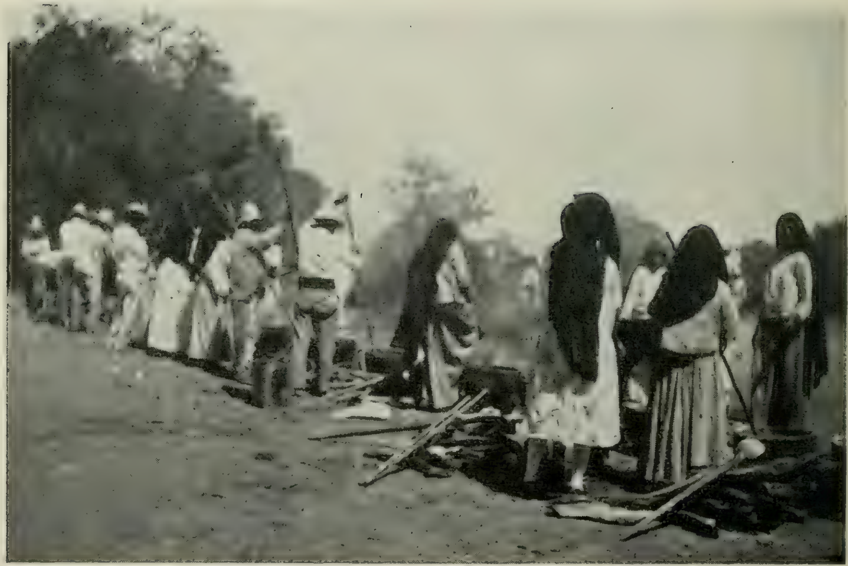


2. POTTERY BULL.

(For explanation, see page 232.)



1. Mayo Church.



2. Mayo Fiesta Scene.
(For explanation, see page 232.)

INDEX

Aboriginal culture, reference to study of, by R. L. Beals, ix, x
Abortion, 58
Acaxee, reference to, 194
Acknowledgment, made in first part of study, reference to, xii
Activity, rhythms of, 207–210
Adolescent rites, 60
Aged, respect for, 58, 189
Agriculture, 5–10
  comparison of Yaqui and Mayo methods, 10
  Mayo, ceremonial associations, 7–9
    crops grown, 6–7
    implements, wooden, 7, 8
    irrigation, 5
    labor, by men, 7
    religious customs at harvest, 6
    vegetables grown, 7
  method of clearing land, 5
  primary occupation, 45, 207
  Yaqui, ceremonials, absence of, 9
    crops grown, 9
    implements, modern, desired by, 211
    lands planted, 9
    moon's effect, belief in, 9
Ahome, reference to dances of, 202
  tradition regarding migration of, 49
Ahome (town), 3, 19, 33
  See also O'mi.
Alamos, 19, 40, 41, 50
  Valley, 1
Alegre, Francisco Xavier, cited, 3, 196
Alms, soliciting of, 142–143, 146, 147, 160, 168, 186
Altars, 21
Angelitos, 94, 110–111
Añil, 50
Animals of the woods, 196, 197
  Mayo beliefs concerning, 200–201
  Yaqui beliefs concerning, 197, 201
Animals, tame and domestic, 10
  comparison with Mexican, 10
  moon's effect, belief in, 10
  remedies for sickness of, 45
  wild, hunted, 11–14
Apache, 48, 49, 213
Apollonian, 212
  Pueblos, 213
Arizona, southern, Mayo and Yaqui found in, 1
Arpita (musical bow), 41, 42
Aztec, customs introduced by, 206
  huipil, mentioned, 163
  looms, referred to, 35
  reference to dance of, 203
Baca, 3
Bacabichis, the, 3
Bacavachi (Mayo town), 3, 5, 15, 146
  burial ground at, reference to, 70
  description of church at, 91
  fiesta of Rosary held at, 142
  fiestas held at, 133
  reference to fariseo of, 102
  serapes made at, 26
Bacobampo, 3, 50
  reference to fariseo of, 103
Bacubirito, 2
Bacun (Yaqui town), 3, 80, 114, 165, 186
  National fiesta (Virgin del Camino, Santa Isabel) held at, 167
  reference to dance at, 112
Bags, made of *maguey* fiber, 23, 33–35
Bahíto (a Mayo San Juan fiesta), 133, 144
  description of, 139–142
Baja California, mentioned, 49
Ball and stick game, description of, 44
Bamoa, 2
Banderas, Juan, a Yaqui leader, 4, 212
Bands, horsehair, Mayo, 37
Bartering, 49
Basauri, C., cited, 203
Basketry, 36, 37
  See also Weaving, hand.
Batacosa, 143
  description of church at, 91
Beads, shell, worn by dancers, 126
Beals, Ralph L., cited, 1, 12, 13, 15, 19, 23, 43, 44, 47, 49, 60, 83, 194, 202, 215
Bees, Coyote and the (a Cáhita story), 220–221
Behaviors, attitudes, and mannerisms, discussion of, 82–83
Belen, 3, 86, 165, 186
  (Pitahaya), 52, 85
Beliefs:
  associated with the woods, 190–201
  concerning hunting, 12–14, 190
  in star lore and eclipses, 47
  in sun and moon, 9, 190–191
  miscellaneous, 188–189
  Mayo:
    concerning death, 66–75
    concerning Horned Water Serpent, 199
    concerning reincarnation, 67
    in future life, 66
  Yaqui:
    concerning death, 75–81
    concerning Horned Water Serpent, 201.
    concerning reincarnation, 81
  See also Magic and Religion.
Belts, horsehair, Mayo, 37, 38

Benedict, R., reference to classifications of, 212, 213
Bewitchment, *see* Disease and curing.
Bibliography, 225–227
Bicam, *see* Vicam.
Birth observances, Mayo, 55–57
  Yaqui, 57
Blankets, woolen, weaving of, 23–32, 208
Bogan, cited, 110, 169
Bow and arrow, 22–23
  use in warfare, 50
Boys, activities, 59
    matachin dancers, 94
    Mayo, fiesta dancers, 119
      marriage age, 63
    Yaqui, marriage age, 65
      membership in military organization, 51, 52, 60
  See also Children.
Buelna dictionary, reference to, 23
Bull, Coyote and the (a Cáhita story), 219
Bull, pottery, *see* Pottery bull.
Burial customs, Mayo, 67–75
  Yaqui, 75–80
Cahuetes, 8, 9, 35, 141
Cajeme, famous Yaqui leader, 1, 4, 50, 51, 212
  reference to death of, 5
California, Gulf of, reference to, 49
  University of, field expenses paid by, xii
Camino, [Virgin del] (Santa Isabel), *see* Virgin del Camino
Camoa, 3, 133
Camoares, 3
Candelario fiesta, Mayo, 133
Canteens, or gourd water bottles, 21
Capetimayo, 51
Capomas, Mexicanized Mayo village, xii, 21
Carapoa, 206
Castillos (fireworks), 134, 136, 137, 139
Catholic associations in Yaqui rituals, 190
  church, relation of Mayo religious organization to, 91
Cebada (soft drink), mentioned, 121
Cedros, 3, 7
  Valley, 1
Ceremonials, Mayo, associated with agriculture, 7–9
  modern, development of, 202–207
Ceremonial year, 208, 209
Ceremonies:
  Mayo, donning of habit of San José, 163
    Lenten, 144–161
  Yaqui, induction of new fiesteros, 115–117
    Lenten, 168–185
Cervantes de Salazar, F., cited, 206
Charac, 3
Charay, Mayo village, xii, 3
Chíbuku, 153, 154, 194
  reference to potter of, 41
Chicorato, 2
Chihuahuita, 7
Childbirth, *see* Birth observances.
Children, 57–60
  activities, 58–59
  adolescent rites, 60
  angelitos, 94, 110–111
  burial customs, 67–68, 76
  dedication to matachini, 111
  education and pastimes, 58–59
  Noche Buena fiesta dancers, 167
  punishment of, in earlier times, 85
Choix, 3
Christ, impersonated by old man, 156, 157, 161, 171–173
Christmas Eve fiesta, 133
Chucarit, 33, 147
Churches, Mayo, Government ownership of, 91
Church organization, *see* Religious organization.
Cigarettes, *see* Tobacco.
Cinches, made of *maguey* fiber, 35
Ciudad Obregón, mentioned, 49
Cobijas, *see* Blankets.
Cocorit (Yaqui town), xi, 3, 80, 81, 108, 111, 165, 172, 186
  hats made at, 36
  (Vicam Station), reference to matachin dance at, 111
Cohuirimpo, 3
  typical burial ground at, 70, 71
  velación of San José at, reference to, 94
Collection, museum, made in 1930–31, mentioned, xi
Colorado, lower, reference to, 215
Colorin (Cocorit?), 3
Communal labor, Yaqui, 89
  mentioned, 206
Comoriopa, 3
Concepción, Yaqui fiesta of, 165, 167
Conecare, 3
Confetti, use of at Easter festival, 159
Conicari, 3, 133
Conquest, The first (a Yaqui story), 218
Cord, made of *maguey* fiber, 23, 35
Corimpo, 3
Corpus Cristi, Yaqui fiesta of, 165
Coyote and chickens (Yaqui game), 44
Coyote and the bees (a Cáhita story), 220–221
Coyote and the bull (a Cáhita story), 219
Coyote, beliefs concerning, 200
Coyote dance, 43, 78, 123, 131–132, 168, 203
Coyote, The Iguana and the (a Cáhita story), 219
Coyote, The story of turtle and (a Cáhita story), 219–220
Crops, cash, Mayo, 7
  grown, 6–7, 9–10
  harvesting season, 208
Crutch paddle, 44
Cubiri, 2
Cuirimpo, 3
Culiacan, 215

- Culiacan River, 1
- Cultures, white and Indian in Mexico, interaction, ix
  - Cáhita, periods of, x
    - aboriginal, reference to study of by R. L. Beals, ix, x
- Cumuripas, 49
- Curers, *see* Diseases and curing.
- Curinghoa, 3
- Curing, methods of, *see* Diseases and curing.
- Customs:
  - burial, children, 67–68, 76
    - Mayo, 67–75
    - Yaqui, 75–80
  - concerning fiesta food, 142
  - concerning names of dead, 81
  - marriage, 61–66
  - mourning, 69, 70, 73, 74, 75, 77, 78, 80
- Dance:
  - coyote, 78, 168, 203
    - Mayo, reference to, 43, 123
    - Yaqui, description of, 131–132
  - deer, 122–123, 126–131
  - mo·el (bird dance), 98, 112, 124
  - owl, mentioned, 123
  - pascola, 120–122, 126–131, 167, 168, 203, 204, 205
  - raccoon, 123, 129–130
  - religious and ceremonial, development of, 202, 203, 204
  - sleepy, description, 98
    - mentioned, 112, 124
  - Tesguin, mentioned, 203
  - venado, mentioned, 203.
  - *See also* Dancers.
- Dancers:
  - Mayo fiesta, deer and pascola, 119–126, 143, 148, 159, 189, 190, 202, 203, 204, 205
    - matachini, 94–98
  - Yaqui fiesta, deer and pascola, 117, 126–131, 167, 168, 186, 187, 189, 190, 202, 203, 204, 205
    - matachini, 111–112
  - *See also* Dance.
- Death:
  - Mayo beliefs concerning, 66–75
    - practices in connection with, 67–75
  - Yaqui beliefs concerning, 75–81
    - practices in connection with, 75–81
- Deboropa, 2
- Deer dance, 122–123, 126–131
  - dancers, *see* Dancers.
- Diaz, mentioned, 4, 6
- Dice, stick, in National Museum, Mexico City, 44
- Directions, symbolism, 189
- Disease and curing, 191–196
  - animals, remedy for sickness of, 45
  - association with "Religion of the Woods," 190
  - bewitchment and curing, stories of, 194–195
- Disease and curing—Continued
  - dreams, an aid in diagnosing illness, 191–192, 193, 198
  - herbs and roots as remedies, 193, 194, 195–196
  - methods of curing, x, 191–193
  - relation of sickness to eclipses, 47
  - remedies, mostly household, list of, 193–194
  - sources of illness, 47, 191
  - words connected with, list of, 195
- Distribution of Mayo and Yaqui, 1
- Divorce, among Mayo, 63
  - among Yaqui, 66
- Dogs, day of the, 154
- Dominguez, F., cited, 168, 169, 171, 172
- Don G., a German-American, quoted on Yaqui barbarities, 54
- Dreams, aid in diagnosing illness, 191–192, 193
  - importance of, among the Cáhita, 198
- Dress, 37–39
- Drum, 42, 43, 124, 126, 138, 203, 204
  - and flute, 120, 121, 122, 128, 152, 204
  - fiestero, used at San Juan fiestas, 136, 137
  - music for coyote dance, 131, 132
- Ear piercing, 60
- Easter fiesta, Mayo, 133, 159–160
    - women's duties in connection with, 105
  - Yaqui, 165, 177–185
- Echojoa (Mayo village), xi, 3, 50, 197
  - fiesta held at, 133
  - French settlers at, 49
- Eclipses, customs followed on occurrence of, 47
  - Mayo beliefs, 47
  - Yaqui beliefs, 47
- Education of children, 58–59
- Epling, Dr. Carl, 194
- Equipment, modern agricultural, Yaqui desire for, 211
- European tools used, 23
- Fariseos, discussion of development of group, 203, 205
  - Mayo, 94, 98–103, 149, 157, 210
    - biblical characters represented by, 99, 100
    - chief, selection of, 100
    - clowning activities, list of, 102–103
    - duties of, 99, 100
    - gestures used, list of, 102
    - Lent, time of functioning, 98, 99, 144, 146
    - ludicrous and obscene actions of, 102, 152–153
    - reasons for joining, 98
    - restrictions imposed on, 103
  - Yaqui, 112–115
    - comparison with Mayo, 113
    - description of group, 112
    - dress, 113
    - functions, 112, 114–115
    - masks, 113

Field work, dates of, x
    financing of, xii
    sites of, x–xi
Fiestas:
    Mayo, 132–164
        burial, 67, 68, 72
        Christ and the Virgin, 144–161
        comparison with Yaqui, 165, 166
        coyote dance performance at, 132
        dancers, 119–126
        fiesteros, in charge of, 104, 105
        fireworks feature of, 134
        harvest, reference to, 8–9
        musicians, 119–126
        recent changes in, 161, 162
        San Juan, *see* San Juan fiesta.
        small, 143
        time held, 209
    Yaqui, 165–188
        burial, child, 76
        Christ and the Virgin, 168–185
        comparison with Mayo, 165, 166
        dancers, 126–131
        dances, 167, 168
        data on differences from regular pattern, 167–168
        de la Cruz, fiesta, 167
        major fiestas, discussion, 165
        musicians, 126–131
        officials of, 115, 116
        of the Camino, reference to, 111
        of the soldiers, names of, 55
        San Juan, *see* San Juan fiesta.
        Santa Isabel and Guadalupe, 165
Fiesteros, 188, 203
    Mayo, 103–107, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 143, 146, 160
        description of group, 104
        duties of, 104, 133–134
        induction into group, 105
        relation to church organization, 103
        restrictions of, 106–107
    Yaqui, 115–117
        comparison with Mayo, 117
        description of group, 115–116
        duties of, 115
        eligibility, 116
        induction ceremonies, 116–117
        officials of fiesta, 115–117
Financing of investigation by University of California, xii
First Conquest, The (a Yaqui story), 218
First People, The (a Cáhita story), 216
Fishing, 14–15
Flute, 42, 128, 138, 152, 169, 170, 203, 204
Food, animals eaten, 16
    brought to San Juan Fiesta, 136
    fiesta, disposal of surplus, 134
    habits, 16
    lists of, 15–16
    preparation and storage, 15–16
    served at Mayo fiesta, 140
        custom concerning, 142
Food—Continued
    served at Yaqui fiesta, 181, 186, 188
        customs regarding serving of, 166
    sold at stores, 46
    wild, gathering of, 10–11
        list of, 11
Forde, C. D., cited, 9
Forin, Yaqui town according to Alegre, 3
French settlers on Mayo River, 49
Friday of Dolores, 154, 160
Fuerte River, xi, 1, 2, 19, 20, 133, 206, 214
    games played, 44
    reference to funeral ceremony on, 73
    Revolution, reference to, 55
    towns dating from or before Mission times, names of, 3
Games, description of, 44
    Yaqui ceremonial, mentioned, 186
Gandara and Urrea, bloody struggle between, mentioned, 4
Geography of northwestern Mexico, comparison of Yaqui and Mayo knowledge of, 47
Gethsemane, mentioned, 172, 173
Giant harvest, The (a Cáhita story), 218–219
Giant, Saint Peter and the (a Cáhita story), 224
Gifford, E. W., cited, 204
Girls, activities, 59
    dress, 38
    marriage age, Mayo, 63
        Yaqui, 65
    matachin dancers, 94, 97
Glossary, 227–230
Goldfrank, E. S., cited, 201
Government, ownership of churches, 91
    town, Yaqui, description of, 86–89
Granville, Verona, cited, 43
    quoted on description of Yaqui marriage ceremony, 65–66
Guadalupe fiesta, Mayo, 133
    soldiers', 55
    Yaqui, 165, 167
Guasave, 2
Guaymas, description of burial ceremony at, 78–80
Guiraquis, 3
Guitahoa, 3
Guitar, 43
Haciendas, laborers on, 45, 46
Hair brush, *echos* burr, 21, 38
Hairdress, 38
Hammocks, hand-woven, Mayo, 37
Hardy, R. W. H., Mayo and Yaqui towns mentioned by, 3
    cited, 1, 4
Harps, 42, 126, 136, 205
Harvest, The giant (a Cáhita story), 218–219
Hats, hand-woven, 36, 37
Hehnchajoa, 3
Herbs and roots as remedies, 193–194, 195–196
Hermosillo, mentioned, 49

Hernández, Fortunato, cited, 4
  map of, showing Mayo and Yaqui towns, mentioned, 3
Hichucios (Huites?), districts occupied by, 3
Hísimo, a San Juan fiesta, description of, 135–139
Historical knowledge, 49
Híto tree, 194
Hoarding among Mayo and Yaqui, 82
Holden, W. C., and others, cited, 78, 112, 169, 171, 172, 176, 181
Homosexuality, mentioned, 82
Horned Water Serpent, beliefs concerning, Mayo, 199
  Yaqui, 201
Horse racing and betting at Yaqui fiesta, 186
Houses, types and construction, 16–20
    Mayo, 16, 17, 18, 19
    Mexican, 19
    Yaqui, 16, 17, 18, 19
  utilization and furnishing, 20–22
    implements, household, list of, 22
    kitchen equipment, 21–22
    Mayo, 20, 21
    Mexican type, reference to, 20–21, 22
    Yaqui, 20, 21
Hrdlička, Aleš, cited, 1, 4, 23, 26, 33, 37, 39, 45, 58, 196
  cited on visit to Mayo, 85
  Mayo towns mentioned by, 3
Huatabampo, 3
Huichol, attitude toward dreams held by, 198
  mentioned, 28, 110
Huipil, formerly worn by Yaqui, 39
Huirivis, Yaqui fiesta town, 3, 165, 186
Huites, 3, *see also* Hichucios.
Hunting, 11–14
  beliefs concerning, 12–14, 190
  by Mayo, 11, 14
  by Yaqui, 13, 14
Huperi (Mayo village), reference to, xi, 3
  fiestas held at, 133
  French settlers at, mentioned, 49
Iguana and the coyote, The (a Cáhita story), 219
Implements, household, 21–22
  modern, Yaqui desire for, 211
  See also Tools.
Indian and White, The marriage of (a Cáhita story), 221–223
Infancy, care during, 57–58
  See also Children.
Infanticide, 58
Infidelity, punishment for, 88
Informants, names of some, xi
Illegitimacy, 58
Jesuits, the, reference to, 4, 66
Johnson, Jean, quoted on susuákame, 110
  work among the Yaqui, reference to, 110
Juarez, Benito, Yaqui tribal territory dated from time of, 49
Kick-race game, 44
  encouraged by missionaries, 204
Kinship terms, use of Spanish, 60–61
Kobanáro, chief Mayo official in earlier times, 84
Kroeber, Prof. A. L., cited, 28, 39
  director of work, xii
  quoted, 211
Land ownership, Mayo, 6
Latigos, made of *maguey* fiber, 35
La Trinidad, Yaqui fiesta of, 165
Leba, Juan, a Yaqui, 50
Lencho, 171, 201
Lent, Mayo ceremonies, 144–161
  Yaqui observance of, 168–185
    fiestas, customs of pascola dancers at, 128
    function of fariseos during, 112–115
Levirate, forbidden by Mayo, 63
Loom, Mayo, description of, 29–31
  weaving, *see* Weaving.
Lopoche, 2
Lumholtz, C., cited, 198
Machete, 23, 113
McKenzie, A. S., cited, 1, 203
McMillan, W. C., cited, 17, 18, 20, 21
Macollague, 3
Macoyahui, 3
Madero revolution, mentioned, 4
Magdalena, shrine of, 165
Magic, belief in by Yaqui pascola and deer dancers and musicians, 127
Maguey fiber, 23, 33–35
  articles made of, 23, 33–35, 46
  extraction of fiber, 33
  weaving, 33–35
    man's occupation, 33, 35
  See also Loom weaving.
Making of the world, The (a Cáhita story), 216–218
Makochin, 147, 150
  reference to woman harp player at, 43
Mannerisms, discussion of, 82–83
Manufactures, 22–43
  See also individual items, such as Tools, Weapons, Weaving, etc.
Maricopa, 48
Marriage customs, 61–66
  Mayo, 61–64
  Yaqui, 64–66
Marriage, degree of kinship permitted by Mayo, 60
Marriage of Indian and White, The (a Cáhita story), 221–223
Marriage, permanence of, 82
  test, a Yaqui, 65–66
  with relatives, forbidden by Yaqui, 65
Masiaca (Mayo town), 3, 5, 144
  bag weaving at, 33
  blankets made at, 26
  sash or belt weaving at, 32

Masks, discussion of, 204, 205
  Mayo, description of fariseo, 101–102
    pascola, 120
  Yaqui, description of fariseo, 112–115
Matachini, 94–98, 111–112, 117, 153, 154, 157, 159, 162, 167, 168, 186
  Mayo, 94–98
  origin of group, discussion of, 203, 206
  Yaqui, 111–112
Matapan, 2
Mats, hand-woven, Mayo, 36, 37
Matus, Yaqui tribal chieftain, 85, 86, 212
Mayo, adjustment to white culture, 210
  agriculture, 5–9
    comparison with Yaqui, 9, 10
  behavior (general) like Mexicans, 82
  beliefs,
    concerning death, 66–75
    in effect of eclipses, 47
    in influence of moon on crops, 9
  birth observances, 55–57
    comparison with Mexican, 56, 57
    taboos, 57
  church officers, 91–94
  culture, differences between Yaqui and, plan of presenting, xii
  distribution of tribe, 1
  down-river, reference to, xi
  dreams among, importance of, 198
  dress, 37–38
  fariseos, 98–103
    See also Religion, Mayo.
  fiestas, abandoned, 133
    classes of, 133
    dancers and musicians, 119–126
    general features of, 133–134
    recent changes in, 161, 162
    special features, 133
    tobacco smoking at, 44–45
  hairdress, 38
  houses, utilization and furnishing, 20–22
  hunting, 11, 13, 14
  implements used in farming, 7
  land ownership, 6
  looms, description of, 29–31
  maize, principal crop of, 6
    medicinal use, 6
  ornamentation, 38
  pacifism, discussion, 211–215
  place names, sources of list of, 49
  population, 2
  pottery, 39–41
    decoration on, 143–144
    practices in connection with death, 67–75
  religious organization, *see* Religion, Mayo
  River, x, 1, 2, 36, 133, 134
    towns, names of some, 3
Mayo—Continued
  sites of field work, 1930–31 and 1932, x–xi
  towns, cited by Hardy, R. W. H., 3
    cited by Hrdlička, Aleš, 3
    cited by Velasco, José Francisco, 3
  tribal organization, disappearance of, 85
  use of Spanish kinship terms, 60–61
  wars, 4–5, 50–51
    objective, 5
  weaving, 23–35
Men, fiber weaving occupation of, 33, 35, 46
  mats and baskets made by, 37
  occupations of, 7, 46
  punishment of, 88
Mescal, drunk by Yaqui pascola, 130, 131
  use at Mayo fiesta, 100
  use at Yaqui fiesta, 187
Meteoric shower of 1833, reference to, 49
Mexican, of Bacavachi, story of bewitchment told by, 197
  cigarettes used, 44
  Government, policy regarding soldiers, 54–55
    mention of, 107
  methods of food preparation and storage in comparison with Cáhita, 15
  Revolutionary movements, Mayo participation in, reference to, 50, 51
Mexicans, 10, 14
  attendance of, at San Juan fiesta (Mayo), 137, 139
    at fiesta of Easter, 159
  comparison of some Mayo techniques and products with those of, 37
  comparison with, in regard to trade and wealth, 49, 50
  game played by, reference to, 44
  mannerisms differentiating Cáhita from, 83
  Mayo dress compared with that of, 38
  planting methods, reference to, 7
  presence in Indian towns, mentioned, 5
  some beliefs of, 199
  type of blanket sold to, 23
  Yaqui war with, 50
Mexico, 1, 31
  early missionaries of, mentioned, 134
  similarity of Yaqui communal labor to that further south in, 89
  western, in pre-Hispanic times, mentioned, 35
Missionaries, early, 2, 134, 203, 204, 205, 206
  writings of, on Cáhita, reference to, x

Mixe, reference to, 103
Mochicahui, Mayo village, xii, 3
Mocorito, 2
Mó·el (bird dance), 98, 112, 124
Mohave, Yaqui nationalism compared with that of, 211–212
Moon, beliefs in, 47
Morality, standards of, 56, 62, 63–64, 65, 66, 82, 88
  Mayo, 63–64
  Yaqui, 65–66
Morgan, W., cited, 198
Mori, Yaqui tribal chieftain, 85
Moros, 186, 187, 188
  function of at San Juan fiesta, 142, 143
  mock battle of, 143
Musical bow (*arpita*), 41–42
Musical instruments, description, 41–43
  European, taught by missionaries, mentioned, 205
  See also individual instruments.
Music, for Yaqui pascola dancers, animal sounds represented, 126–127
  comparison with Mayo and European, 127
  Mexican, played at fiestas, 137
  use by missionaries, mentioned, 202
Musicians:
  association with "Religion of the Woods," 190
  Mayo fiesta, 119–126
  Yaqui fiesta, 126–131
Nacionales, mentioned, 50
Nationalism, Yaqui, discussion of, 211–215
National Research Council of Washington, D. C., present work done as Fellow in the Biological Sciences of the, xii
Natividad, *see* Noche Buena.
Navaho, the, apparently unknown to Yaqui, 48
  women, reference to dress of, 37
Navojoa (Mayo town), 3, 16, 33, 49, 50, 51, 106, 155, 198, 212
  data on fiestas held at, 133
  description of *velación* without a fiesta, 149
  fariseo chief's costume at, reference to, 100
  kobanáro of, reference to, 92
  matachin dances of, mentioned, 94, 95–96, 98
  Mayo data in this study collected in district of, x–xi
  See also Pueblo Viejo.
Needles, 23
Nets, hand-woven, Mayo, 36, 37
Nine Men's Morris game, 44
Nio, 2
Noche Buena (Natividad, Pastorela), Yaqui fiesta of, 165, 167
Numbers, ritual, 189–190, 191
Oaxaca, 153
Obscenities of Mayo pascola dancers, reference to, 121, 122
  of Yaqui deer dancers, mentioned, 129
Occupations, 45–46
  agriculture, primary, 45
  carpentering, 46
  cattle raising, 45
  dancing, 46
  fireworks making, 46
  fishing, 45, 46
  furniture making, 45
  laboring on *haciendas*, 46
  masonry, 45
  men's, 46
  mining, 45
  musician, 46
  storekeeping, 46
  weaving, 46
  women's, 45–46
  wood cutting, 45
Ocoroni, 2
  game credited to, 44
  masks among, reference to, 204
Ocoroni River, 1
Olson, R. L., cited, 42
O'mi (Ahome?), 3
  See also Ahome.
Opata:
  account of weaving, similar to that of modern Mayo, ascribed to, 31–32
  knowledge of remedies, reference to, 196
  known by most Yaqui, 48, 213
Orchestra, dance music for San Juan fiesta supplied by, 137
Organization, political:
  discussion of, 83–89
  Mayo tribal, in earlier times, 83–85
  Yaqui, tribal, 85–86
Ornamentation, 38, 39
Orozco y Berra, cited on towns, 3
Orthography, system followed, xii
Ortiz, leader of Mexicans against Cajeme, 51
Owl dance, Mayo, mentioned, 123
Pacifism, Mayo, discussion of, 211–215
Papago, known by many Yaqui, 48
Parsons, Dr. Elsie Clews, acknowledgment to, 55
  cited, 45, 153
  description of burial ceremony at Guaymas, by, 78–80
  dream about, 198
  statement of, regarding women's dress, 37
  use of Spanish kinship terms pointed out by, 60
  visit of, to Yaqui and Mayo territory in 1932, xi
Pascola dance, 120–122, 126–131, 167, 168, 203, 204, 205

- Pascola dancers, 119–126, 202, 203, 204, 205
  - association with "Religion of the Woods," 190
  - at Yaqui fiesta of San Juan, 186, 187
  - belief concerning, 189
  - Mayo, 119–126, 143, 148, 159
  - "Play of the Deer," a dramatization given by, 130–131
  - Yaqui, 126–131
    - music for, animal sounds represented, 126–127
- Pascua de Espíritu fiesta, Mayo, 133
- Pascua, *see* Pascua Village.
- Pascua Village, Tucson, Ariz., xii, 49, 78, 165
  - Noche Buena festivities observed at, 167
  - study of by Edward Spicer, reference to, xi
  - Yaqui site visited, xi
- Pastorela, *see* Noche Buena.
- Pearl shell, rosary beads of, 162. *See also* Shell beads, etc.
- Pelota game, encouraged by missionaries, 204
- People, The first (a Câhita story), 216
- Pérez de Ribas, Andrés, cited, 202
  - cited on towns, 3
- Peru, comparison of harp from, 42
- Peyote, 194, 196
- Pilate, head of fariseos, 112–113
  - impersonation of, 156, 157, 158
  - in Yaqui procession, 170
- Pima, 213
  - Alta, known by many Yaqui, 48
  - Bajo, 213, 214
- Pitahaya, 55
  - description of graves at, 81
  - Yaqui Lenten procession held at, 169
  - *See also* Belen (Pitahaya).
- Plates, explanation of, 230–232
- Playa San Ignacio, crutch paddle observed on, 44
- "Play of the Deer," dramatization by Yaqui pascola, 130–131
- Population, 1–2
- Political organization, *see* Organization, political.
- Potán, Yaqui town, 3, 54, 165, 172, 186
  - description of funeral ceremony at, 76
  - detailed study of, needed, xi
  - San Juan fiesta held at, 185
  - visit to in 1930–31, x
- Pottery bull, ceremonial use, 105, 139, 140, 141
  - decoration on, 143–144
  - gift to new Mayo chief of fiesteros, 143
  - not used by Yaqui fiesteros of San Juan, 117
- Pottery, making of, occupation of women, 45–46
  - Mayo, 39–41
  - types of, 39–40
  - vases, use, 161–162
  - Yaqui, 41
- Pregnancy, beliefs in effect of eclipse on, 47
  - taboos, absence of, 56–57
- Pueblos, 212
  - use of tobacco, reference to, 45
  - visited by one informant, 48
- Pueblo Viejo, 135, 146, 154, 155, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161
  - bahíto at, comparison of with fiesta of Rosary at Bacavachi, 142
  - description of church at, 91
  - fiesta of San Juan held at, 139
  - *See also* Navojoa.
- Punishments, 62, 64, 66, 88
  - for tribal law infractions, 88, 89
  - of children, 85
  - of men by fariseos, 99
- Quiver, 23
- Raccoon dance, Mayo, mentioned, 123
  - dance of Yaqui pascola, 129–130
- Rahum, 3
- Rasping sticks, 42, 124, 204, 205
- Rattles, belt, 42
  - carried and worn by deer dancer, 122
  - cocoon, 42
  - disk, 42
  - gourd, 42, 43
  - used by pascola dancers, 121
  - worn by Yaqui deer dancer, 128
- Raun, Yaqui fiesta town, 3, 165, 186
- Recreation for children, 58–59
- Redfield, Robert, study of Tepoztlan, discussion of, ix–x
- Reincarnation, Mayo belief in, 67
  - Yaqui belief in, 81
- Religion, x, 90–207
  - beliefs, miscellaneous, 189
  - circuits, direction of, 189
  - direction symbolism, 189
  - discussion of Mayo and Yaqui beliefs, 90, 91
  - Mayo religious organization, 91–107
    - Catholic church, relation to, 91
    - church officers, 91–94
    - fariseos, 98–103
    - fiesteros, 103–107
    - matachini, 94–98
  - modern, development of, 202–207
  - Yaqui religious organization, 107–117
    - church officers, 107–111
    - fariseos, 112–115
    - fiesteros, 115–117
    - integration of, 117–118
    - matachini, 111–112
  - *See also* "Religion of the Woods."

"Religion of the Woods," 190–201, 202
Remedies, *see* Disease and curing.
Ritual numbers, 189–190
Rituals, miscellaneous, 190
    See also Ritual numbers.
Rodeo, 3
Rooster pulling, Yaqui fiesta custom, 186
Ropes, *maguey* fiber, rawhide, reference to, 33
"Running of the old man," Yaqui Easter week procession, description of, 171–173
Saddle pads, made of *maguey* fiber, 35
Saint Peter and the giant (a Cáhita story), 224
San Ignacio, 3, 70, 91, 94, 95, 98, 133, 139, 144, 147
    fiestas held at, 133
    reference to matachin dances at, 94, 95, 98
    velación of San José held at, 162
San Ignacio de Tesia, fiestas held at, 133
San Ignacio (?), Yaqui fiesta of, 165
San Isidro, ceremonials in honor of, 8, 9
San Isidro (?), Yaqui fiesta of, 165
San José Charay, 3
San José de Cohuirimpo (now San Ignacio), 133
San José, fiesta, Mayo, 133
    velación of, *see Velación.*
San Juan, called owner of seeds, 9, 10
    importance of in Cáhita cult, 206
San Juan fiesta, Mayo, 134–144
        description of large fiesta, 135–139
        mentioned, 133
        moors, function at, 142, 143
    names of, 134
    Yaqui, 165, 185–188
        ceremonies connected with, 117
San Juan's Day, final Mayo fiesta of San Juan held on, 142
    reference to, 57, 105
San Lorenzo, 3
San Miguel, Fuerte River town, mentioned, 3
    Yaqui fiesta of, 165
San Miguel Zuaque, Fuerte River town, mentioned, 3
San Pedro, Mayo River town, mentioned, 3
    description of church at, 91
    Mayo fiesta held at, 133
Santa Cruz (de Mayo), x, 3, 50
    fiesta of the soldiers, mentioned, 55
    Mayo fiestas held at, 133
    reference to French settlers at, 49
    Yaqui fiesta of, 165
Santa Isabel, *see* Virgin del Camino.
Santa Rosa, Yaqui fiesta of, 165
Santa Rosalia, Yaqui boundary line near, 49
Santisima Trinidad, or Holy Trinity, fiesta, 133
Sashes, woolen, weaving of, by Mayo, 23, 32–33
Seasons of the year, 207
Serapes, *see* Blankets.
Seri, 214
    known by most Yaqui, 48, 213
Sewing machine, 23
Sex restrictions, 62, 63
    enforcement of, formerly, 85
Sexual indiscretions, punishment of, 62, 64
    See also Morality, standards of.
Shell beads, worn by Yaqui dancers, 126
    See also Pearl shell etc.
Shinny game, 44
Sierra de Bacatete, 1, 50, 211
Sierra, the, 3
Siesta, Mayo, 146, 147
    noonday, of fiesteros, 143
Sinaloa, 1, 4, 5
    mission enterprise, 206
Sinaloa River, crutch paddle observed on, 44
    towns, names of, 2
Sinaloas, districts occupied by, 3
Site of field work, 1930–31 and 1932, x–xi
Sivirijoa, 3
Skin dressing, methods, 41
Sleepy dance, description, 98
    mentioned, 112, 124
Smoking, 44–45
    by youth, 45
    ritual, 45
    social, 44–45
    See also Tobacco.
Snake and the Viper, The (a Cáhita story), 221
Soldiers, at Yaqui fiesta, 167, 168, 186, 187, 188
    ceremonial duties of, 55
    fiestas of, 165
    See also Warfare *and* Warriors.
Songs:
    coyote dance (Yaqui), 132
    deer, reference to, 122
        words of, 124–125
    Indian and Spanish, mentioned, 137
    reference to, 42
Sonora, 1, 4, 39
    a Mayo elected governor of, in 1936, 4
    reference to Pancho Villa's stay, 55
Sororate, forbidden by Mayo, 63
Spanish alphabet adapted to writing, Yaqui, 211
    kinship terms, use of by Yaqui, 60–61
Spicer, Dr. Edward H., cited, 13, 65, 81, 108
    quoted, 79
    reference to his study of Pascua Village, xi, xii

Spicer, Roz, cited on Yaqui ceremonies at Pascua, 165, 171
Spicers (Dr. Edward H. and Roz), cited, 172, 176
  Noche Buena festivities observed at Pascua with, 167
Spinning instrument (*taravia*), rare, 35
Sports, *see* Games.
Star lore, 47
Stevenson, M. C., cited, 55, 56, 114
Stores, goods sold at, 46
Strong, W. D., cited, 192
Studhalter, R. A., cited, 10
Suicide, motives, 83
Sun and moon, belief in, 190–191
Sun, disappearance of, story about, 49
Susuákame, a Yaqui group formerly in existence, 109
Taboos, concerning dead, 72, 76, 81
  imposed on parents, 56, 57
Tamazula, 2
Tanning, *see* Skin dressing.
Tales and stories:
  Coyote and the bees, 220–221
  Coyote and the bull, 219
  Saint Peter and the giant, 224
  The first conquest, 218
  The first people, 216
  The giant harvest, 218–219
  The iguana and the coyote, 219
  The making of the world, 216–218
  The marriage of Indian and White, 221–223
  The snake and the viper, 221
  The story of Turtle and Coyote, 219–220
  Turtle speaks Yaqui, 224
  Yomomuli, 223
Tarahumara, 47, 203, 213, 214
Taravia, rare spinning instrument, 35
Tecoriona, 3
Téha (a game like horseshoe), 44
Tehueco, Mayo village, xii, 3, 214
Tehuecos, 214
  districts occupied by, 3
Tenebrae, Lenten service, 155
Tepague, 3
Tepoztlan, discussion of Redfield's studies at, ix-x
Tesguin, dance mentioned, 203
Tesia, 3
  burial ground at, mentioned, 70
  church at, description of, 91
  funeral at, reference to, 73
  hats made at, 36
Tetabiate (Yaqui leader), Cajeme's successor, 4
  mentioned, 212
Tetanchopo, 147
Tiburon Island, Yaqui boundary line near, 49
Tobacco, 7, 9, 44–45, 105, 122, 126
  ceremonial use, at fiesta of San Juan, 136, 138–139, 144
    by wizards, 196
    reference to, 206
Tobacco—Continued
  cigarettes, 105, 122, 140, 196
  offered guests by deer dancers in training, 126
  use by fiesteros, 104, 105, 106, 107
    in curing, 45, 191, 192
  wild, remedy for sickness in animals, 45
  Yaqui cultivation of, in Spanish times, 45
Toloache, 194
Tools, 7–8, 10–11, 22–23, 211
  See also Implements.
Toor, Frances, cited, 14, 16
  quoted on Yaqui marriage customs, 65, 66
Top fighting and top spinning (game), 44
Torin (Yaqui town), 3, 86, 165, 186
  detailed study of, needed, xi
  maypole dance at, 112
Toro, 3
Towns, Yaqui and Mayo, founding of in relation to missions, 2
  names of some, 2, 3
  See also individual names.
Trade, similarity to Mexican, 49–50
Transportation, means of, 43–44
Transvestites, reference to, 82
Travel, modes of, 43–44
Turtle and Coyote, The story of (a Cáhita story), 219–220
Turtle speaks Yaqui (a Yaqui story), 224
Twins, 58
United States, reference to Indians of, x
Ures, 2
Urrea and Gandara, bloody struggle between, reference to, 4
Vaca, 3
Velación, 94, 146, 147
  (Mayo), of San José, description of, 162–164
    with a fiesta, 150
    without a fiesta, 149
Velasco, José Francisco, cited, 1, 39, 45, 66, 203
  cited on Mayo and Yaqui towns, 3
Venado dance, mentioned, 203
Vicam Viejo (Yaqui town), 171, 186
  deer dancers at, 128
  description of Lenten ceremonies, 173
  fiesta of San Juan held at, 185
Vicam, *see* Vicam Station.
Vicam Station (Yaqui village inhabited by villagers from Cocorit), xi, 3, 23, 54, 55, 85, 108, 111, 165, 169, 171, 172, 181, 201
  burial at, 80
  Easter Sunday ceremonies at, 182–185
  visited, xi
  Yaqui procession of "Running of the old man" by Cocorit people observed at, 172–173

Villa de Montesclaros, 3
Villa, Pancho, reference to stay of, in Sonora, 55
Violin, 42, 136, 137, 138, 205
  and harp, for raccoon dance, 129
    for Mayo pascola dancers, 120
Viper, The snake and the (a Cáhita story), 221
Virgin del Camino (Santa Isabel), a major Yaqui fiesta, 165, 167–168
  fiesta of soldiers mentioned, 55
Virgin of Guadalupe, mentioned, 55
Vows, discussion of, 188–189
  fulfillment of at *velación* of San José, 163
  Mayo, 142, 147
    minor fiestas given in fulfillment of, 133
  Yaqui, 165, 168
    fiesta given as result of, 166–167
Wagner, C. J., cited, 196
Waicuri, 48, 213
Warfare, 4–5, 50–55
  Mayo, participation in Mexican revolutionary movements, 50–51
    summary, 4–5
  Yaqui, modern, barbarities in, 54
    boys' membership in military organization, 51, 52
    defensive, belief, 53
    fiestas connected with, 55
    method, 50
    military organization, 51–55
    religious observances connected with, 51, 52, 54, 55
    summary, 4–5
Warriors, burial customs concerning, 78, 80
  See also Soldiers *and* Warfare.
Watachive, 50
Wealth, concepts like Mexicans, 49
  standards of, 50
Weapons, 22–23, 50
Weavers, loom, names and phrases used by, 26–27
Weaving, hand, by Mayo, 36–37
    bands, horsehair, 37
    basketry, 36, 37
    belts, horsehair, 37
    hammocks, 37
    hats, 36–37
    mats, 36, 37
    nets, 36, 37
  by Yaqui, 36, 37
    basketry, 37
    hats, 36, 37
Weaving, loom, by Mayo, 23–35
  bags, *maguey* fiber, 23, 33–35
  blankets, woolen, 23–32
  maguey fiber articles, other, 23, 33–35
  sashes, woolen, 23, 32–33
  technique, 29–32
  Yaqui, reference to, 26
Week End Book, cited, 44
White culture, adjustment to, 207–211, 215
  comparison of Yaqui and Mayo, 213–215
  Mayo, 210
  Yaqui, 210–211
White farmers, reference to, 208, 209
White, L. A., cited, 192
Whites, attitude of Cáhita toward, x
  attitude toward religion of Cáhita, 90
  contacts with, effect of, 82–83
    first, mentioned, 2
  reference to, 4
White, The marriage of Indian and (a Cáhita story), 221–223
Wí'caka, presence of witches at, 197
Witchcraft, x
  belief in by Mayo musicians and pascola dancers, 125
  punishment for, 88
  See also Witches and wizards.
Witches and wizards, 191, 192, 193
  association with "Religion of the Woods," 190
  attitude toward wizards, 90
  mentioned, 189
  stories of bewitchment, 197–198
Wizards, *see* Witches and wizards.
"Woods, Religion of the," 190–201
  beliefs connected with the, 199–200
Wool for weaving, preparation of, 27–28
Women:
  burial customs for married, 77
  Mayo, church assistant, 93
    fiesteros, 104, 140, 141
    musicians, 124
    protection of, on alms-soliciting march, 142
    restrictions in earlier times, 84
  occupations, 45–46
  Yaqui, punishment of, for witchcraft or murder, 88
Yaqui, adjustment to white culture, 210–211
  beliefs concerning death, 75–81
    practices in connection with, 75–81
  beliefs in eclipses, 47
    effect on pregnancy, 47
  birth observances, 55–57
    taboos, 57
  boys' membership in military organization, *see* Warfare, Yaqqi
  council meetings, description of, 87
  culture meetings, description of, 87
    Mayo culture and, xii
  distribution, 1
  dress, 37–39
  fiestas, *see* Fiestas, Yaqui.
  fishing, 14–15
  fiesta, dancers, 126–131
    musicians, 126–131, 178

Yaqui—Continued
  houses, utilization and furnishing, 20–22
  matachini, 111–112
  military organization, *see* Warfare, Yaqui.
  musical instrument of, mentioned, 43
  musicians, training of, 126
  nationalism, discussion, 211–215
  occupations, 45
  ornaments, 39
  population, 1–2
  pottery, 41
  religious organization, *see* Religion.
  River, xi, xii, 1, 9, 36, 165
    crutch paddle observed on, 44
  sashes formerly woven by, 33
  sites of field work, x–xi
  territorial boundary, 49
  tobacco, cultivation in Spanish times, 45
    smoking by youth, 45
    See also Tobacco.
  town government, description, 86–89
Yaqui—Continued.
  towns, cited by Hardy, R. W. H., 3
    cited by Velasco, José Francisco, 3
    earliest mention of by Pérez de Ribas, 3
  tribal organization, 85, 86
  Turtle speaks, (a Yaqui story), 224
  use of Spanish kinship terms, 60–61
  wars, *see* Warfare.
  wild food gathered by, 10–11
Yavapai, apparently unknown to Yaqui, 48
Yecorato, 3
Yomomúli (a Cáhita story), 223
Yuma, apparently unknown to Yaqui, 48
Yumans, comparison of Cáhita with, in attitude toward dreams, 198
Zapotec, reference to, 103
Zingg, Robert M., quoted, 110
Zuaque, 3, 214
  districts occupied by, 3
  reference to dance of, 202
Zúñiga, Ignacio, cited, 66

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